not be done and that it is not the Muslim way of life. He said they do not worship fighting and sometimes the fighters lose their lives. ELIJAH stated there are many tricks that can be played in something like this. He said it was not good for anyone who professes Islam to be seen around there. He stated there was too much publicity about this and he has been reading about it here and it was getting in all the newspapers. ELIJAH stated there was too much talk going on that they are hanging around hoping to get something out of this fight. He said it was not good for them. He said to warn the Muslims whoever they are that he, ELIJAH, said for them to stay away [redacted] ELIJAH said to tell [redacted] ELIJAH, didn't want to offend [redacted] but this will not serve to any good for [redacted] ELIJAH commented if [redacted] wants to eat the Muslim food and someone is there to cook [redacted] then [redacted] should take it [redacted] personally. [redacted] ELIJAH commented he was so sorry MALCOLM went down there, that he, ELIJAH, did not know what to do. ELIJAH said they did not want to have their name in it.

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[redacted] had been getting the papers and pays for them [redacted] is up-to-date but [redacted] wanted to get another 1,000 copies. [redacted] had asked for them but the secretary must have overlooked [redacted] and maybe [redacted] should send the money in advance. ELIJAH said that place (Miami) should take many papers and should sell 30,000 copies. [redacted] said they could and ELIJAH said he would advise the secretary about it.

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The above information is not being put in a letterhead memorandum based on the sensitive nature of the source involved and the Phoenix Division feels the data should not be disseminated outside the Bureau.

FILE DESCRIPTION

BUREAU FILE

SUBJECT MALCOLM X LITTLE

FILE NO. NY 105-8999

SECTION 58

SERIALS 4186-4260

(March 1964)

Section 58

NY 105-8999-4195	same as	HQ 100-399321-Not Recorded serial (NR dated 3/17/64	
NY " " 4196	" "	HQ 100-399321-90	
" " " 4206	" " " " "	NR dated 3/23/64	
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" " " 4230	" " " " "	-83	
" " " 4232	" " " " "	-86	
" " " 4238, 4237	" " " " "	-NR dated 3/13/64	
" " " 4244	" " " " "	-NR dated 3/19/64	

FD-338 (Rev. 5-22-63)
OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC New York (105-8999) DATE: 6-18-64

FROM : SA [redacted] (43)

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SUBJECT: MALCOLM K. LITTLE, aka
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In connection with the destruction of channelizing memoranda, the information contained on the serials listed below was incorporated in a report dated as above . The review for this report was made from serial 3871, vol. 53 through serial 4454, vol. 61 .

In accordance with the above, the following serials are to be destroyed:

Volume	Serials (List by serial or serial scope.)
58	4221, 4222, 4254, 4259.
59	4283, 4284, 4296, 4297, 4304, 4305, 4306, 4308, 4310 - 4313, 4317, 4318, 4322, 4327, 4332, 4333, 4335, 4341, 4342.
60	4351, 4352, 4357, 4373, 4374, 4388, 4401, 4412, 4419, 4420, 4421, 4422, 4425, 4426, 4429, 4430, 4434, 4438, 4439, 4446, 4450.
61	4458, 4459, 4460, 4461, 4463, 4465, 4472.

FILE STRIPPED
BY [redacted] ON 10/20/67

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Maintain as Top Serial

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[redacted]

No. of copies 4 (FB)
See 1 A destruction memo
for volumes 53 - 57.

Approved [redacted]

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MALCOLM X BACKS HOUSE RIGHTS BILL

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 26—Malcolm X, the "black nationalist" leader, said today that he wanted the Senate to pass the civil rights bill but forecast that enforcing its provisions would lead to violence.

Malcolm, who split recently with the leaders of the Black Muslim religious movement and set up his own militant group, was in the Senate gallery today during parts of the debate on the measure.

On and off during the day he held impromptu press conferences in the corridors.

He said he wanted the Senate to pass the House bill "exactly as it is, with no changes." But, he said, the bill would not solve the Negro problem "because you can't legislate goodwill—that comes about only by education."

CLIPPING FROM THE

NY Times

EDITION Late City

DATE 3/27/64

PAGE 10

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FBI/DOJ

Malcolm X in Gallery, Sees Rights 'Con Game'

By the Associated Press

Malcolm X, spokesman for militant Black Nationalists, watched the civil rights debate from the Senate visitors' gallery today and denounced it as a "con game."

Malcolm flew here from New York this morning on what he described as sort of a reconnaissance mission.

He said he wanted to see what a filibuster was like, decide whether the Negro group he heads should conduct demonstrations, and if so what form they should take.

"When word got out in New York that I was coming down," he said, "it was all I could do to keep a great crowd from coming with me to demonstrate right now. They're ready."

"Won't Solve Problem"

Malcolm broke recently with the Black Muslim sect which so far has not co-operated with various civil rights groups seeking passage of the bill.

He said his reason for aligning his schismatic group with the others is because "I'm willing to support anything the Negro believes will help solve his problem.

"But I can tell you right now this bill won't solve it," he said. "You can't legislate good will — that comes about only by education.

"If this bill is passed, it will never be enforced. Enforcing it would bring a civil war to the South and a race war to the North."

Meet at Powell Office

Malcolm was joined by five members of his group who drove from New York and met him at the office of Representative Powell, Democrat of New York, where they obtained Senate gallery visitors' passes. They were in the gallery when the Senate voted, 67-17, to take up the bill formally.

He said he would "rather not say" what methods he advocates in bringing about equal rights for Negroes, but that neither legislation nor non-violent passive resistance are among them. He advocates meeting violence with violence.

Malcolm called the debate over the civil rights bill "nothing but a con game in which people agree in advance what they are not going to do then pretend they are doing something to get it."

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The Evening Star
Washington, D.C.
Page A-5
3/24/64

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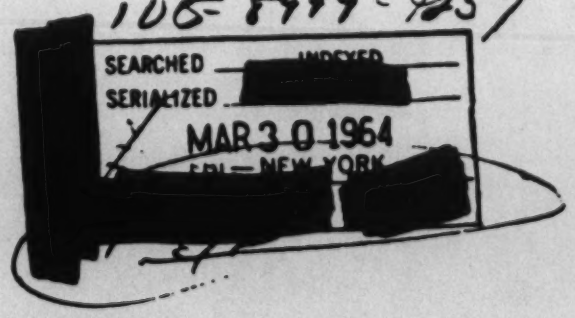

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REV. KING SPOKE FIRST

Malcolm X Sort of Marked the Spot

By TED KNAP
Scripps-Howard Staff Writer

"Well, Malcolm, good to see you," said Dr. Martin Luther King.

"Good to see you," replied Malcolm X.

"Hold it," called photographers as the two Negro leaders shook hands, and thus was recorded a picture that could wave the red flag of Black Muslimism in front of those opposing or uncertain about the civil rights bill.

Malcolm got there by slipping into Dr. King's press conference and then stepping into his path.

BOTH IN GALLERY

It happened yesterday after the Senate had rebuffed a move to sidetrack the civil rights bill into committee. Dr. King and Malcolm had been in separate sections of the visitors' gallery.

Just off the Senate Chamber is a conference room where Dr. King had agreed to meet the press after the vote. Minutes before he got there, Malcolm got past the police guard and took a seat in the back of the room. Reporters waiting for Dr. King quizzed Malcolm.

"A Negro is within his right to use any method to remove these injustices (of racial discrimination)," Malcolm said. He went on to defend the Congolese who killed whites because "they looked like Belgians" and the Jacksonville Negroes who attacked a news photographer because, "how can you tell a Northern photographer from a Southerner?"

"You never distinguish when you're at war," Malcolm said.

Then attention turned from the militant advocate of black supremacy to the president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

"My philosophy is non-violent," said Dr. King. "I think violence in our struggle would be impractical and immoral."

NO UNCLE TOM

But the golden-voiced veteran of the Birmingham jail made it clear he's no Uncle Tom.

"If there is a prolonged filibuster," Dr. King said, "it will be necessary to engage in a creative direct action program to dramatize the blatant injustice to Negroes . . . At first, we will try to persuade with our words. If we cannot persuade with our words, we will try to persuade with our deeds."

If the civil rights bill fails, Dr. King foresees a "dark night of social disruption" and civil disobedience.

DEMONSTRATIONS

If the bill passes, Dr. King said there still will be demonstrations this summer to test compliance.

"Oh, no, we will not be content . . . We cannot stop until we have absolute and full freedom," he said.

After the conference, Dr. King left by one door and Malcolm stepped in front of him out of another. If it bothered Dr. King, he did not show it. He spoke first, held out his hand and smiled.

As cameras flashed, Malcolm wisecracked to Dr. King, "now you're going to get investigated."

—UPI Photo

HERE'S THE PICTURE—Rev. King at left, and Malcolm X.

Washington DAILY NEWS - 3-27-64 page 3

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FBI — NEW YORK [redacted]
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OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
5010-104

UNITED STATES

Memorandum

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (105-8999) DATE: MAR 2 6 1964

FROM : SA [redacted] (#312)

SUBJECT: MALCOLM X
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Director, FBI (25-330971)

March 24, 1964

SAC, Milwaukee (105-337)

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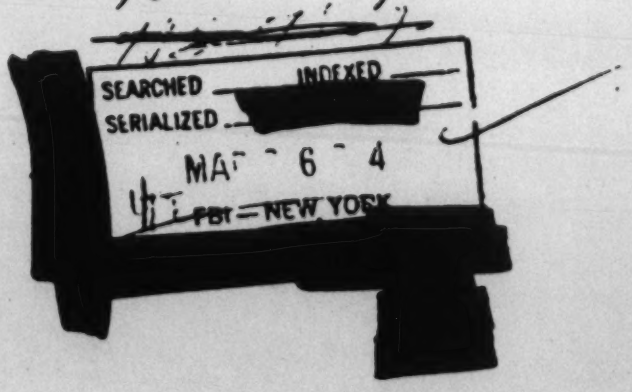

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Malcolm's Brand X

He is by calling an apostle of bitter black nationalism, but Malcolm X is practiced and adept at the white man's art of communications. He stood in the middle of a packed conventioneers' meeting room in a Midtown New York hotel last week, smiling now and then at the cameras, dabbing at the sweat that pebbled his brow under the hot TV lights, and talking about why he was quitting as a hierarch of the stridently anti-white Black Muslims. And when he had finished his press conference, a lady reporter burbled: "He's so *charming*—so *intelligent*."

He is both; in an almost ingratiating way, Malcolm announced plans—and even invited white financial support—for a new Brand X nationalist movement that believes in racial separation, non-nonviolence, and guns.

Charismatic: The message was a chilling prelude to a second long summer of revolt—the more so because of Malcolm's self-made skills as a fiery, spellbinding, and undeniably charismatic leader. Moreover, though he still considers himself a Muslim, he planned to package part of his wide-ranging program in a secular wrapper—and thus keep it apart from the exotic Islamic preachments that have helped ~~stunt~~ the Muslims at their estimated hard-core

CLIPPING FROM THE

NY Newsweek Magazine

EDITION

DATE 3/23/64

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FBI—NEW YORK [redacted]

strength of fewer than 10,000. Indeed, ~~though~~ national civil-rights ~~leaders~~ wanted no part of him, some local-level hotbloods were queuing up for dates.

Actually, Malcolm was leaving behind little more than his place in the Muslim mainstream (and, so he said, his most celebrated convert, the world's heavyweight champion, Cassius X). He plans to call his new operation the Muslim Mosque, Inc.; he still pledges spiritual allegiance to national Muslim overlord Elijah Muhammad, even if Muhammad did bring on the split by suspending Malcolm for calling President Kennedy's assassination a case of "the chickens coming home to roost." For that, Malcolm blames not Muhammad himself but other national leaders who have the boss's ear and who used the quote as an excuse to "force me out." "If you put the wrong information into a computer," Malcolm told NEWSWEEK's Peter Goldman, "it can only come back the way you put it in."

Malcolm X: Charm and guns

Thus, his departure was not a total break with the movement he joined in 1948 while doing time in prison as a convicted thief (and, as he is fond of pointing out, a Christian). His new mosque will still teach the Muhammad message: separation, moral self-improvement, economic self-sufficiency —and, ultimately, an exodus "back . . . to our own African homeland."

But, during his three-month exile, Malcolm concluded that the Muslims had stifled their own growth partly by

not working hard enough for more urgent goals he now plumps for: "better food, clothing, housing, education, and jobs *right now*." And his mosque will have a "political apparatus" as well—a nonsectarian wing dedicated to sweeping out "Negro politicians who are puppets for . . . outside [i.e., white] forces."

He got straight to the point at his news conference: this "threatens to be a very explosive year on the racial front and . . . I myself intend to be very active in every phase of the American Negro struggle for human rights"—except the nonviolent, integrationist phase that has thus far pre-empted the field.

"It is criminal," he said blandly, "to teach a man not to defend himself when he is the constant victim of brutal attacks. It is legal and lawful to own a shotgun or a rifle. We believe in obeying the law. In areas where . . . the government seems unwilling or unable to protect [Negroes from brutality] . . . we should form rifle clubs that can be used to defend our lives and our property in times of emergency, such as happened last year in Birmingham; Plaquemine, La.; Cambridge, Md.; and Danville, Va." He never quite came out for shooting at, say, bullying white cops or segregationist mobs. But he is given to metaphor, and he did say: "When our people are being bitten by dogs, they are within their rights to kill those dogs."

Deterrent: Was it simply rhetoric? Malcolm has sure news instincts; he knew his gun-club plan would set off a volley of worried questions, and he seemed to enjoy handling them when they came. "I bet," he said later, a sardonic smile creasing his lean, light-brown face, "they pass a bill to outlaw the sale of rifles, and it won't be filibustered either." But he held to his proposal; he insisted an arms buildup would be both a deterrent to white aggression and an incentive for positive white action. "Whites will never correct the problem on moral, legal, or ethical reasons," he said. "But they're realists enough to know that they don't want Negroes running around with rifles . . ."

Deterrence is a dangerous game, for the overmatched Negroes more than whites—and for the nation still more. Yet Malcolm has a potential constituency, in the Muslim mosques along the Eastern Seaboard he has evangelized so skillfully—and outside as well. Before the week was out, he claimed invitations to help local civil-rights leaders in troubled Plaquemine and to join a conference of warhawks in Chester, Pa. Also invited: Cambridge's tough Gloria Richardson and Brooklyn's Rev. Milton Galamison, the fiery New York school boycott leader. "We're headed for a new stage of militancy," said Mrs. Richardson, "and it's wise to plan just what self-defense tactics we may need."

Malcolm X War Cry: 'Ballots or Bullets in 64'

By CYRIL EGAN JR.

"1964 threatens to be an explosive year. The white liberals held us in check in 1963, but that won't work in 1964. It's going to be a year of ballots or bullets. And if ballots won't work, bullets will."

A crowd of 1,000 cheering, applauding Negroes roared approval as rebel Black Muslim leader Malcolm X shouted this grim prophesy last night at a rally in Rockland Palace, W. 155th st. and 8th ave.

"People say I'm crazy," Malcolm went on. "Well, you have to be crazy to be free.

WANTS CONVENTION

"We have to wake the people up . . . By May or June we are going to have a Black Nationalist convention. If they won't let us have it in Madison Square Garden, maybe we can have it in Times Square.

"If it's necessary to form a Black Nationalist party—or a Black Nationalist army—we'll form it."

Most Negro leaders ignore Malcolm's open invitation to the meeting, during which he advised his audience in the course of a two-hour tirade:

"No more turning the other cheek. No more jive like that. There'll be non-violence only with those who are not violent with us."

REGISTRATION DRIVE

He announced a registration drive for Negro voters to "determine who will sit in the White House and who will sit in the dog house." But he warned that down South "in order to start casting ballots, you have to have some bullets."

Malcolm seemed unconcerned by the apparent snub from other Negro leaders.

"They probably had other commitments," he said.

Rev. Milton A. Galamison, who drew Malcolm's support in the second school boycott, said

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NY Journal American

EDITION latest news

DATE 3-23-64

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of the Muslim leader yesterday, "There is probably not a great distance we could go together."

In a television interview, Mr. Galamison said he would make "overtures for unity" with the major national civil rights organizations which repudiated him after he led the first school boycott.

But he said "the odds are 50-50" there'll be another school boycott before school ends in June.

'NO ALLIANCE'

The Brooklyn minister denied he had any "alliance" eiher with Malcolm X or Harlem Democratic Rep. Adam Clayton Powell, who also backed the second boycott.

Mr. Powell revealed in a sermon at his Abyssinian Baptist Chuch that he was urging Mr. Galamison to picket the Board of Education's Brooklyn headquarters on a daily basis.

He blasted the "stupidity and failure of big name leaders" who would not back Mr. Galamison, and said they were to blame for reports that the

MALCOLM X
"It's Ballots or Bullets"
Journal-American Photo by Seymour Zee

Board of Education would delay or drop plans to pair some schools.

FD-350 (4-3-62)

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Malcolm X Calling Negroes To 'Bullets or Ballots' Drive

Malcolm X, Negro nationalist leader, wants a mass meeting of Negroes to convene in New York between now and June to form a "black nationalist party or a black nationalist army."

Asserting that American Negroes are faced with a choice between "ballots or bullets," Malcolm rejected the philosophy of non-violence that has characterized the civil rights movement until now, saying:

"No more turning the other cheek. . . . There will be nonviolence only with those who are not violent with us. . . . 1964 threatens to be an explosive year."

1000 Cheer Him

Speaking yesterday before 1000 cheering Negroes in the Rockland Palace, Eighth Ave. and W. 155th St., Malcolm said his goal was a million registered voters in a black nationalist party.

"Then," he said, "any Negro who joins the Democratic party would be a traitor."

Malcolm, who left the Black Muslim movement earlier this month, told the audience he was speaking as a Muslim minister, but was not seeking to convert Christian Negroes to his faith. He likened his position to that of the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. and the Rev. Milton A. Galamison, who "fight for human rights as Christian ministers."

Meanwhile, Mr. Galamison said yesterday there was a "50 to 50" chance that a third school boycott would be held between now and June.

Work Stoppage

Speaking on the WABC-TV program, Page One, the Brooklyn clergyman also said that plans for a work stoppage April 22, opening day of the World's Fair, were not definite.

Mr. Galamison, who lost the support of major civil rights groups in a second school boycott last week, said a meeting was scheduled for some time this week with representatives of those groups. The objective: To re-create a united civil rights front.

Though negotiations toward that end were in progress, he said, it was "hard to tell" if progress was being made.

On another front, both Mr. Galamison and Malcolm X came in for sharp criticism from Rep. Emanuel Celler (D., Bklyn.), a longtime supporter of civil rights. He characterized the two men as "extremists" who are "doing a great disservice" to the civil rights movement.

He said Malcolm was "encouraging violence" by predicting that 1964 would be an "explosive" year, and he called the school boycotts organized by Mr. Galamison's Citywide Committee for Integrated schools "nihilism" and "obnoxious."

Celler spoke on the WNBC-TV Searchlight program.

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2 NEW YORK WORLD TELEGRAM AND THE SU

Date: 3/23/64
Edition: METRO
Author:
Editor: RICHARD D. PETI
Title: MALCOLM LITTLE

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MAR 23 1964
FBI — NEW YORK

MALCOLM X PLANS RALLY TOMORROW

Malcolm X has invited Negro organizations throughout the metropolitan area to a meeting in Harlem tomorrow night.

The meeting will be held at the Rockland Palace, 155th Street and Eighth Avenue, at 8 P.M. The hall, one of the largest in the community, has long been a cultural and political forum.

Malcolm has withdrawn from Elijah Muhammad's Chicago-based Black Muslim movement to organize a "black nationalist party." He has set up a temple of the Nation of Islam, in the Theresa Hotel, Seventh Avenue and 125th Street.

At tomorrow night's meeting, Malcolm will discuss "Black Nationalism in Harlem." Malcolm's associates said he would divide the secular from the religious aspects of his program in deference to those who might differ on his Islamic views, but agree with his secular proposals.

A source close to Malcolm said several organizations had pledged support to him at a meeting last Sunday night at the Dawn Casino, 2387 Seventh Avenue. This, he said, encouraged Malcolm to plan tomorrow night's meeting in a large hall.

CLIPPING FROM THE

NY Times

EDITION Late City

DATE 3/21/64

PAGE 12

FORWARDED BY NY DIVISION ✓

NOT FORWARDED BY NY DIVISION

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 1-24-84 BY 8269 TP/leweb/

1 more copy for 100-162759 3/24/64 67C

[redacted] Y, V 3/26/64

105-8999-4248

67C

SEARCHED [redacted] INDEXED
SERIALIZED [redacted]
MAR 23 1964
FBI - NEW YORK

FD-260 (Rev. 8-28-58)

DECODED COPY

☐ Radio ☒ Teletype

FBI CHICAGO

URGENT 3-21-64

TO DIRECTOR AND NEW YORK

FROM CHICAGO

NATION OF ISLAM, IS-NOI.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 4/24/84 BY 269 Pletcher/tc

42
67D

[redacted] RELIABLE, ON MARCH EIGHTEEN LAST, ADVISED [redacted] TOLD [redacted] TOLD [redacted] MALCOLM GOING STRONG PREACH-

67C

"ING THAT STUFF AND HAD ABOUT FORTY BROTHERS OUT OF THE TEMPLE ALREADY AND "SIX OR SEVEN OF THEM WITH GUNS"; MALCOLM SAYS HE IS NOT GOING TO GIVE UP HOUSE UNTIL HE HAS OPEN SHOWDOWN WITH MUHAMMAD TO SHOW WHY HE IS OUT AND PROVE MUHAMMAD WRONG. [redacted] STATED COULD NOT BELIEVE MALCOLM COULD GET THAT MANY OUT OF TEMPLE. [redacted] SAID [redacted] REPORTED MALCOLM WAS

67C

SPREADING THAT STUFF AND GETTING YOUNG BROTHERS AND PAYING THEM. [redacted] STATED MALCOLM CLAIMS [redacted] MISAPPROPRIATED FUNDS. SOURCE ADVISED [redacted] TOLD [redacted] MARCH EIGHTEEN LAST THE THING THEY TALKED ABOUT IN PHILADELPHIA IS WHAT MALCOLM IS USING TO GET PEOPLE. [redacted] HAD APPROACHED [redacted] WITH THIS CLAIMING [redacted] KNOWS AS A "JEW" TOLD HIM. [redacted] TRYING TO FIND OUT WHO WAS BACKING

END PAGE ONE

67C

TOR 1:10 am 3-21-64 JAA

DEC 4:00 am 3-21-64 JAA

67C

If the intelligence contained in the above message is to be disseminated outside the F[illegible] paraphrased in order to protect the Bureau's cryptographic systems.

105-7809

105-89554

105-7809

SEARCHED [redacted] INDEXED

SERIALIZED [redacted]

MAR 21 1964

FBI - NEW YORK

FD-280 (Rev. 8-28-58)

DECODED COPY

☐ Radio ☐ Teletype

PAGE TWO

MALCOLM AND THOUGHT IT WAS [redacted] ADDED ALL THINGS POINTED TO THIS AND THEY ARE IN BACKGROUND. [redacted] CONTINUED THE THERESA HOTEL WILL NOT LET MALCOLM COME BACK. SUNDAY (MARCH TWENTYTWO NEXT) THEY WILL GO TO ROCKFORD PALACE. [redacted] STATED [redacted] HAVE GREAT ADMIRATION FOR OUR LEADER AND TEACHER SO EVERY PLACE MALCOLM IS RUNNING THERE IS STONE WALL. [redacted] TOLD [redacted] MALCOLM TOLD [redacted] HE HAS NO INTENTIONS OF VACATING HOUSE UNTIL BROUGHT BEFORE MUHAMMAD AND GIVEN FULL CHANCE TO DEFEND HIMSELF [redacted] STATED MALCOLM TOLD [redacted] MUSLIMS WERE FIGHTING HIM AND HE INTENDS TO FIGHT BACK BY MAKING IT PUBLIC. [redacted] TOLD [redacted] TO WAIT FOR FURTHER INSTRUCTIONS. [redacted] TOLD [redacted] WAS WITH THEM ADDING THEY HAD OVERFLOW CROWD LAST NIGHT. [redacted] STATED [redacted] WAS IN NEW YORK OTHER DAY BUT [redacted] DID NOT KNOW WHY STATING [redacted] WAS JUST FEELING AROUND. [redacted] STETED "MAYBE WE GOT SOMETHING". SOURCE ON MARCH NINETEEN LAST ADVISED [redacted] ASKED ELIJAH MUHAMMAD IN PHOENIX IF HE SAW ITEM FROM "AMSTERDAM NEWS" TODAY. MUHAMMAD SAID HE HAD. THEY DISCUSSED ARTICLE IN WHICH MALCOLM X ALLEGED HE WAS PUSHED OUT OF TEMPLE, AND STATED HIS LIFE WAS THREATENED. MUHAMMAD STATED THEY SHOULD SAY NOTHING AS THIS WOULD BE BEST WAY TO ACT

END PAGE TWO

If the intelligence contained in the above message is to be disseminated outside the Bureau, it is suggested that it be suitably paraphrased in order to protect the Bureau's cryptographic systems.

FD-280 (Rev. 8-28-58)

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☐ Radio ☐ Teletype

PAGE THREE

IT WAS STATED MALCOLM COMMENTED HE WAS NOT GOING TO MOVE OUT OF HOUSE WHERE HE LIVES UNLESS THEY BRING ABOUT CHARGES AGAINST HIM. BOTH AGREED THEY WILL ONLY HAVE TO GET COURTS TO THROW HIM OUT AS HOUSE BELONGS TO TEMPLE AND TEMPLE WOULD ONLY BE TOO GLAD TO THROW HIM OUT. MUHAMMAD COMMENTED MALCOLM HAS HAD NO LUCK SO NOW WANTS TO START ARGUMENT TO GET NAME IN PAPER. MUHAMMAD STATED ALL MALCOLM WILL DO IS TALK ADDING HE IS SAYING HE IS GOING TO SHOW ALLAH HE CAN DO THINGS BETTER. [redacted] STATED MALCOLM HAS SAID [redacted] AND [redacted] HAVE BEEN FIGHTING HIM AND HE IS GOING TO FIGHT BACK IN ANY WAY HE CAN.

67C

FURTHER DETAILS CONCERNING DEVELOPMENTS IN THIS MATTER DURING THE PAST WEEK AS WELL AS RE [redacted] BEING FORWARDED BY AIRTEL THIS DATE.

LOUISVILLE, PHILADELPHIA, PHOENIX FURNISHED COPIES OF THIS BY AIR MAIL.

END

If the intelligence contained in the above message is to be disseminated outside the Bureau, it is suggested that it be suitably paraphrased in order to protect the Bureau's cryptographic systems.

FD-36 (Rev. 12-13-56)

FBI

Date: 3-20-64

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (25-330971)

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-35635)

SUBJECT: NATION OF ISLAM
IS - NOI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 1-24-84 BY 8269 JHE/WEB/RC

Re Chicago airtel to Director, copies to Louisville, Newark and New York dated 3/17/64.

The following data pertains to developments regarding activities of MALCOLM LITTLE and [redacted] It was made available by [redacted] reliable, on the dates indicated:

b7C
b2
b7D

3/13/64

[redacted] was in contact with [redacted] and read a letter [redacted] had sent to "him" (probably MALCOLM X LITTLE) concerning the property and vacating the house. The letter was dated 3/10/64 and was, in part, as follows:

"...Dear Brother Malcolm,

"You have several items such as letters, Mosque film, Negro documents, etc., relative to the Muslims and their affairs...the laborers and believers hereby request your cooperation in turning these items over to Muhammad's Mosque #7 immediately. Also you are residing in a building which was purchased by Muhammad's Mosque #7 for the use by a laborer as designated by the leader and teacher, the honorable Elijah Muhammad, who may serve in ministerial capacity or whatever position he places them. As you no

Mail Room

See Page 2 for copies.

b7C

SEARCHED — INDEXED
SERIALIZED
MAR 23 1964
FBI — NEW YORK

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per 115-1999-9
Special Agent in Charge

CG 100-35635

9 - Bureau (RM)
(2 - 105-)(MALCOLM X LITTLE)
(2 - 105-)(MUSLIM MOSQUE, INC)
(2 - [redacted]
2 - Louisville (Info) (RM)
(1 - [redacted]
(1 - [redacted]
1 - Newark (Info) (RM)
(1 - [redacted]
12 - New York (105-7809) (Info) (RM)
(1 - 105-)(MUSLIM MOSQUE, INC)
(1 - 105-8999) (MALCOLM LITTLE)
(1 - [redacted]
1 - Phoenix (100-)(ELIJAH MUHAMMAD) (Info) (RM)
13 - Chicago
(1 - 100-6989) (ELIJAH MUHAMMAD)
(1 - [redacted]

[redacted]
(38)

longer hold this position we the laborers and believers request that you vacate premises located at 2311 97th Street, East Elmhurst 69, New York, upon receiving this letter. Upon a call [redacted] arrangements can be made to have personal items belonging to the Nation of Islam picked up. This letter will also serve notice your car insurance is in Muhammad's Mosque #7. We are requesting that you discontinue using the name of Muhammad's Mosque or the Nation of Islam for your personal effects. We can effect a transferral of title. Also you can bring the necessary papers to make this change. If you continue to use the Nation's name on your car then the Mosque will have to take possession of the car which we do not want to do because this car is your personal property. The Mosque only desires the withdrawal of its name from your personal effects, etc. This letter also serves notice that Muhammad's Mosque #7 will discontinue handling expenses on utilities at said 2311 97th Street."

b7C

[redacted] the letter was signed by [redacted]

b7C

[redacted] MALCOLM calle[redacted] and stated he has 30 witnesses that we conspired to blow up his car trying to get him. MALCOLM says the only way he can defend himself is through the papers. The "New York Times" says that he accepted money from white folks but they can't be members and is telling the people to give shotguns and is speaking of forming rifle clubs. MALCOLM is trying to make most people think that this is a planned thing and he broke off publicly with the Messenger and then he set up this organization and the Messenger gave him God's speed.

CG 100-35635

3/13/64

[redacted] was in contact with ELIJAH MUHAMMAD and stated [redacted] was doing a story on MALCOLM X leaving the Muslim Movement and asked MUHAMMAD for a statement. The following conversation ensued, M standing for ELIJAH MUHAMMAD, [redacted] standing for [redacted]

M: Brother MALCOLM X left us because he wanted to be in the public as a leader and that we could not do over here unless he obeyed me. I did not dismiss him. I set him down for a while to punish him. He was not able to take the punish. He was so anxious to get back in the public and be seen. He just wanted to be a leader himself so he formed a group for himself.

[redacted] In the papers and in the press conference, MALCOLM emphasized the idea of bloodshed or revolution to achieve the goal of the Negro. Does this go beyond what you are working for?

M: His work is divine work and therefore he cannot do anything unless it is from ALLAH. ALLAH has not given him, MUHAMMAD, any orders to arm anyone. MALCOLM will not be successful and his, MUHAMMAD's, followers "are very sincere and very much devoted to me" and they certainly will not follow anyone who goes out against me. I don't know where MALCOLM intends to get his guns and ammunition and certainly no one will sell him a gun to be shot. They, MUHAMMAD and his followers, desire separation so long as they can't get equal justice.

[redacted] Is there anyone you have in mind to take MALCOLM's place in New York?

M: MALCOLM is very foolish for doing and saying what he has.

3/14/64

1XC [redacted]

3/15/64

47C [redacted] stated that had come over to the house to talk with after being asked if had gotten an understanding, stated he thinks is confused.

3/15/64

[redacted] told ELIJAH MUHAMMAD in Phoenix that [redacted] or rather [redacted] was on TV last night and had done real good and had knocked them cold. [redacted] that some of those who had come to the meeting today were as a result of [redacted] eing on television last night. MUHAMMAD stated that [redacted] will attract quite a few. [redacted] replied that some of the girls at the meeting today said they had just come to see [redacted] stated that [redacted] is very enthused and is 100% with MUHAMMAD.

67C

3/15/64

[redacted] stated that [redacted] is a true Muslim and it took that talk with the right one (MUHAMMAD) to get it out. [redacted] stated that [redacted] is going to make [redacted] pay for those remarks about his religion. [redacted] stated that [redacted] was a smart boy, adding he may talk a lot but he is no fool. [redacted]

67C

3/16/64

[redacted] was in contact with [redacted] and the following conversation ensued, [redacted] standing for [redacted] standing for [redacted]

[redacted] You talked to [redacted] in New York.

[redacted] Right.. [redacted] says that man is doing the same old stuff again going around talking all that stuff and everything.

[redacted] Yeah, to whom this time?

[redacted] Different ones he is trying to get out, out making calls and talking to them and everything.

[redacted] Does [redacted] know anyone that he definitely has told?

[redacted] [redacted] has seen the different ones he has been talking to.

[redacted] The group that is out of the temple and all that?

[redacted] Right, on that new temple you know...talking about you and me and all that kind of stuff. In his argument he is even using the Messenger's name.

[redacted] Well when I get there I am going to make a call.

b7C

3/16/64

[redacted] told ELIJAH MUHAMMAD there was nothing to the meeting. MUHAMMAD stated he had talked with [redacted] there (in New York) and [redacted] estimated about 200 people had attended. [redacted] had gotten some information from the [redacted] who had

talked with the [redacted] this evening. [redacted] stated that MALCOLM was starting the same thing he started in Washington and in Baltimore and they know this is what he is doing. MUHAMMAD stated that MALCOLM won't last long commenting he had all this in his heart way last fall. MUHAMMAD stated that many people before him, MUHAMMAD, had started things and had then fallen down. MUHAMMAD stated that MALCOLM can go after him, MUHAMMAD, with all his might and strength and it won't hurt him because ALLAH is with him, MUHAMMAD.

67C

[redacted] stated that here was one thing that [redacted] was putting out there and continued, "You know what #7 had here for the new temple. [redacted] is putting out that [redacted] did away with that." MUHAMMAD stated MALCOLM will be put in his place and he is in a position now that he can be put in his place. MUHAMMAD stated he was told by [redacted] today that the other fellows are out to get him (MALCOLM).

3/17/64

67C

[redacted]

3/17/64

67C

[redacted] told [redacted] that [redacted] were going to be staying [redacted] in New York because Brother MALCOLM was at the Theresa giving a speech. [redacted]

3/17/64

[redacted] was in contact with [redacted] and apparently was extremely mad because [redacted] had put [redacted] down for associating with [redacted]

b7C

The following conversation ensued, [redacted] standing for [redacted] standing for [redacted]

[redacted] As far as being a leader they can have that. As far as coming to the temple they can have that too. But when they start saying don't you come by here looking for no money, they gonna be in trouble. Did you hear me [redacted]? They'll be in trouble. I'll tell them quick "I've been spending half my life around here keeping this stuff from the people and you gonna stand up here and pull something like this on me? You ain't dealing with no baby or with no faithful believer. I used to be a faithful believer. I'm just here now trying to get understanding but they pull something on me. Look here, they'll get something pulled right back. MUHAMMAD's [redacted] reveals why MALCOLM leaves Black Muslims."

b7C

[redacted] You wouldn't do nothing like that.

[redacted] You let them people start starving me and [redacted] .. look here, don't you know, you know what [redacted] offered [redacted] ... you know what [redacted] don't tell nobody, offered [redacted]

b7C

[redacted] [redacted] did?

b7C

[redacted] Yeah, to tell [redacted] what's happening... From them, they tripled that if [redacted] out see what I mean...They'll know what I mean when I say and just the shock of a somebody finding out, why hell I'd get me a hundred Muslims and ask them for a hundred dollars apiece and tell them...that's a hundred thousand dollars.

[redacted] Golly.

[redacted] No, I wouldn't do anything like that but honest to Savior if they forced me straight out and started bothering me then what I'm going to do is ask ALLAH to help me and keep on trying to work [redacted] and if any Muslims come to me and ask me, why I'm just going to tell them. If any Muslims come to me and ask me any other stuff I'll tell them that too...I feel that if [redacted] permits this to happen and I feel that it is ALLAH's will that I let that believer know because that ain't right...

b7C

[redacted] I don't understand none of this...I agree they should have said something a long time ago instead of bringing it up right now.

b7C

[redacted] [redacted] associates with [redacted] talked to [redacted] today and told [redacted] I told [redacted] that you say [redacted] said [redacted] was not to come to the temple. Last week [redacted] told [redacted] that [redacted] said he didn't put [redacted] out of the temple. Now you're going to put me out of the temple for associating with [redacted] I think you should check into it. Now you're going to put me out on something like this. [redacted] ain't lying

so why don't you check it out. ALLAH isn't giving them people no rest. When I come [redacted] from talking to [redacted] looked like [redacted] was weary. Know what it looks like to me, nothing but a threat to stay away from [redacted]... That's all it is 'cause they know I'll be worrying about no position.

[redacted] Well, I hope you don't mess up nothing for me.

[redacted] I'm gonna mess with whoever mess with me. No, but I just want you to know what happened before anybody else come and tell you something twisted, disrespected your [redacted].. I've done none of that, my word is bond. Let me tell you something [redacted] called [redacted] Monday morning after [redacted] and them argued. [redacted] said [redacted] tell [redacted] better be careful 'cause they're gonna try to get rid of [redacted]. [redacted] thought [redacted] was right to show you how ALLAH works. Monday night when I came to the Fruit meeting, [redacted] told me that MALCOLM [redacted] started telling this stuff.

[redacted] [redacted] know about that?

[redacted] Heck yes [redacted] you're late, you're real late.

[redacted] I didn't know [redacted] knew that, boy oh boy.

[redacted] If MALCOLM been telling some people now when [redacted] get there with all this publicity [redacted] done had with [redacted] when [redacted] get there [redacted] gonna stay at the same hotel MALCOLM is at teaching.

[redacted] No [redacted]

b7C

[redacted] was going to make reservations to go to the Theresa. I'm telling you what [redacted] said but [redacted] in New York and MALCOLM in New York...I'm trying to tell you MALCOLM is in New York too and MALCOLM will go and tell [redacted] and if he don't go and tell [redacted] he'll tell someone else to tell [redacted]

[redacted] won't believe that mess.

I don't say [redacted] believe it. You might not believe but it's still gonna mess [redacted] up...and what's [redacted] name...Say, there's some Muslims in New York that the Messenger needs to be investigated. I'm just showing you what's happening. All this kind of stuff going on and I'm one of the ones what threatening to kill people, beat up brothers for throwing paper ("Muhammad Speaks") in the trash can and now all this stuff that I did to keep it down they gonna put me out of the temple because I've been talking to [redacted] I won't worry about it but someone like [redacted] will make [redacted] want to find out what's happening. Tell [redacted] not to trust "DETROIT RED". He's not MALCOLM anymore, he's DETROIT RED and he's spreading malicious gossip about the Messenger and his family so [redacted] be saying what is this malicious gossip you're spreading about the Messenger and his family.

In this kind of times the whole family should be working together.

[redacted] hopes they're not making no foolish moves. As soon as [redacted] thought [redacted] was so right and as soon as [redacted] finished arguing with [redacted] the next day [redacted] told [redacted] MALCOLM was starting talking that stuff. [redacted] wouldn't

67C

tell it but certain brothers have been going around telling it. I don't think [redacted] will believe any of this. The only way [redacted] would believe it would be to have [redacted] admit it.

[redacted] wouldn't admit nothing.

[redacted]: Yes he has to [redacted] and they admitted it to me that [redacted] admitted it and that's a lot of admitting.

[redacted] doesn't want anything to be blown up, [redacted] just wants to be a follower. Things are getting worse and worse.

[redacted] concluded that things will get worse before they get better, adding that [redacted] not worrying about this but just mad. [redacted] instructed [redacted] to be sure and tell [redacted]

3/17/64

[redacted] told ELIJAH MUHAMMAD that [redacted] had talked to "the one out south in the apartment building" and they said they didn't have anything to do with it. MUHAMMAD replied he didn't think that one would anyway but added that [redacted] could get to the other. MUHAMMAD stated he thought it would be best that way and added he would rely on ALLAH, commenting that whatever ALLAH wants will be done.

The above conversations between [redacted] and [redacted] and between ELIJAH MUHAMMAD and [redacted] indicate that MALCOLM has learned of ELIJAH MUHAMMAD's various romances and that this is causing consternation in the family. It would also appear that [redacted]

Chicago will continue to follow this matter closely and Phoenix should do the same. Information of the above type is not being letterheaded as it is felt it is primarily intelligence data. It is felt that dissemination of material of this type outside the Bureau would most certainly expose the source.

LIFE on the Newsfronts of the World

The Ominous Malcolm X Exits from the Muslims

by MARC CRAWFORD

Last week the Negro civil rights movement was shaken by a rift in the strong and mystical ranks of the Nation of Islam, the "Black Muslims." Malcolm X, the shrewd and personable Harlem leader of the sect who has been its most prominent national spokesman, abruptly announced he was quitting his ministry and organizing a black nationalist political movement of his own.

Of far greater impact on Negro civil rights leadership than the Muslim split itself was Malcolm's surprising decision to join the civil rights fight this summer—and even try to lead it. Up to now he has been a sideline critic of civil rights

CLIPPING FROM THE
NY Life Magazine
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DATE 3/20/64
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DATE 1-25-84 BY 2269 SHEWEE

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105-8999-424
NC
[redacted]

demonstrators. He has sneered at them both for their methods of passive resistance and their ultimate aim—integration. Malcolm X, like the leader of the Black Muslims, Elijah Muhammad, is an adamant archsegregationist who insists American Negroes must separate from whites—as an independent state in the South or through mass migration to Africa.

The schism between Malcolm and Elijah Muhammad has been growing for months. Elijah, little known personally outside of the Islam movement, suffers from asthma and several times during the past year was rumored to be close to death. Malcolm X had become the Muslims' spokesman and dynamo. And this has reportedly aroused the jealousy of Elijah Muhammad's own family, who expect to inherit the leadership.

Last December Malcolm was temporarily suspended from duties in Harlem's Temple No. 7, ostensibly for intemperate remarks he made after President Kennedy's assassination. During the suspension he scored a coup when Cassius Clay, the new champion, revealed he was a Muslim and that Malcolm had converted him. Shortly after, Malcolm said he was suspended indefinitely from his duties—and he promptly quit the movement.

He took pains to swear continuing loyalty to Elijah Muhammad and to reaffirm his religious faith as a Muslim. But, said Muhammad, "whenever a brother walks away from us, all is gone. Malcolm's doing more running off at the mouth than he can back up."

Many Negroes agree with Muhammad that Malcolm has unplugged himself from his power source and that his fortunes will suffer. But predominant opinion, particularly in Harlem where he is known best, is that Malcolm's violent opposition to white men will prove compelling to many Negroes who until now have gone along with the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr.'s peaceful approach.

"I don't believe in passive resistance," Malcolm X explains, calmly enough. "Every Negro ought to have a weapon in his house—a rifle or a shotgun. Any Negro who is attacked should fight back; if necessary he should be prepared to die like a man, like Patrick Henry. Any Negro leader must be prepared—and must tell the people who are following him to prepare—to go either to jail, the hospital or the cemetery. But not without a fight, not without a reason."

Malcolm expects for the present to find his financial and political base in Harlem where, he contends, "Ninety percent of the people feel as I do, admit it or not."

Then, having announced his move, Malcolm went into seclusion to map out his organizational structure. But already his dialogue was taking form:

▸ On Negroes in the Armed Forces: "If [Martin Luther] King and the others can tell Negroes to boycott buses or industries or schools, I see no reason why they cannot boycott the Army, Navy and Air Force. I don't think any Negro should fight for anything that does not produce for him what it produces for others. Whenever a Negro fights for 'democracy,' he's fighting for something he has not got, never had and never will have. If I'm wrong, then all the other boycotts and civil disobedience are wrong too."

▸ On paying taxes: "If I'm to ride second class on an airplane, I don't pay first-class fare. If I'm a second-class citizen, I should not have to pay first-class taxes."

▸ On separatism: "The American Negro has been unhappily married to the U.S. for 400 years. We can't get along, so let's be intelligent and get a divorce. But let's

have a property settlement. Give us our share of what the over-all joint property is worth."

▸ On Americanism: "A cat can have kittens in an oven but that doesn't make them biscuits. I was born in Omaha; that doesn't make me an American. Africa is home."

▸ On the Washington March: "It was a gimmick to hold things in check. It was like putting Novocain in a sore tooth. If the tooth hasn't been pulled or fixed, it's hell when it wears off. The Negro leaders got the people there, put on a show, promised we'd be back in September if there was no civil rights bill. There's still no bill—and no more marching."

▸ On nonviolence: "If you think I'll bleed nonviolently, you'll be sticking me for the rest of my life. But if I tell you I'll fight back, there will be less blood. I'm for reciprocal bleeding."

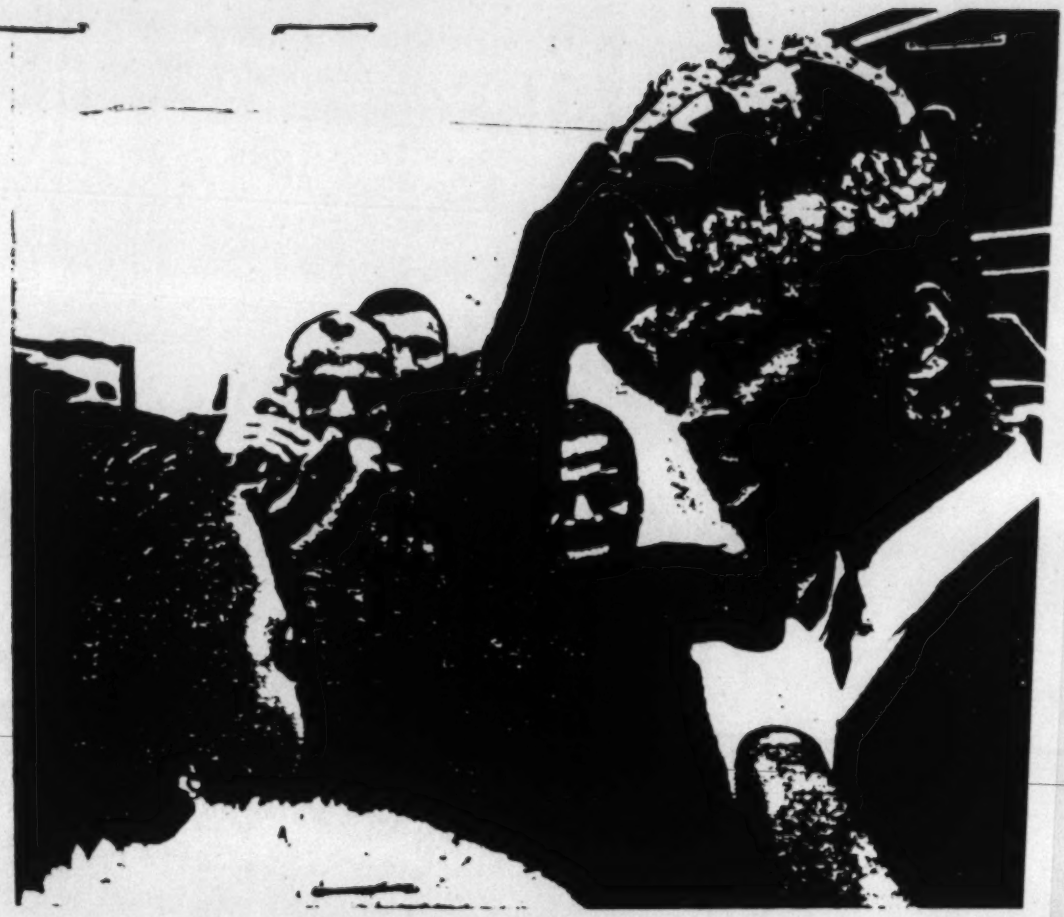
▸ On the South: "When I speak of the South, I mean south of Canada. The whole U.S. is the South."

▸ On police brutality: "Any dog sicked on to any Negro should be shot. I think there will be dead police dogs before the year is over."

Malcolm X will find scant welcome when and if he offers his help and his ominous philosophy to other Negro leaders. "I think it is very unfortunate," says Martin Luther King, "that Malcolm X continues to predict violence . . . in the past the constant prediction of violence has been a conscious or unconscious invitation to it.

"But if the civil rights bill is watered down at any point, it can lead to a despair and discontent in the Negro community that may well bring about a dark night of social disruption. And responsible Negro leadership will find it much more difficult to keep the struggle disciplined and nonviolent."

Malcolm X puts it more savagely: "This is going to be the hottest summer in history."



CASSIUS X. Though converted by Malcolm, the heavyweight champion (being crowned at Louisville homecoming) is loyal to Elijah Muhammad. Following Muslim practice, he plans to call himself simply Cassius X.

ELIJAH MUHAMMAD. Now 66, he was born Elijah Poole in Sandersville, Ga. He took over the Black Muslims from a silk peddler named W. D. Fard who founded movement in 1931 and disappeared mysteriously soon after.

MALCOLM X. Now 39, he was converted to Black Islam while in prison for larceny. In nine years he became head of Islam's biggest congregation. He is married to a nurse, has three children with another on the way.

FD-36 (Rev. 12-13-56)

FBI

CONFIDENTIAL

Date: 3/17/64

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: Director, FBI
Attention: Civil Rights Section
General Investigative Division

FROM: SAC, Philadelphia (157-991) (P)

SUBJECT: NATIONAL CIVIL RIGHTS CONVENTION
CHESTER, PA.
3/14/64
RM

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

Classified by 1-24-84 SCG/HE/WEBster
Declassify on: OADR

Re my tels, 3/13 and 14/64.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are eight copies of a letterhead memorandum, which the Bureau may desire to disseminate. Two copies of this letterhead memorandum are furnished to New York. One copy each is furnished to Albany, Newark, Baltimore, Chicago, and Washington Field.

Copies have been disseminated locally to intelligence agencies.

Information [redacted] was furnished to SA [redacted] (C)

3 - Bureau (Enc.-8) (RM)
2 - Albany (Enc.-1) (RM)
1 - Baltimore (Enc.-1) (RM)
1 - Chicago (Enc.-1) (RM)
2 - Newark (Enc.-1) (RM)
2 - New York (Enc.-2) (RM)
1 - 100-152759
1 - 105-8999
1 - Washington Field (Enc.-1) (RM)
1 - Philadelphia (157-991)

105-8999-4243

SEARCHED ____ INDEXED ____
SERIALIZED ____ FILED ____
MAR 19 1964
FBI — NEW YORK

(13)

Approved: _____ Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP (S) ON [illegible] DATE 11/26/64

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

[redacted] (C)

[redacted] (C)

[redacted]

The enclosed letterhead memorandum is classified confidential, inasmuch as information furnished by confidential informants could reasonably result in the identification of these sources of continuing value.

Leads

[redacted]

CONFIDENTIAL

[redacted]

JAMIESON

[redacted]

4-750 (Rev. 12-14-88)

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Section 552		Section 552a
☐ (b)(1)	☐ (b)(7)(A)	☐ (d)(5)
☐ (b)(2)	☐ (b)(7)(B)	☐ (j)(2)
☐ (b)(3)	[X] (b)(7)(C)	☐ (k)(1)
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☐ (b)(5)	☐ (b)(9)	☐ (k)(6)
☐ (b)(6)		☐ (k)(7)

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NY 105-8999-4242 pages 1, 2, 3

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FBI/DOJ

3/17/64

PLAIN

AIRTEL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (157-4-34)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (157-1036) P

SUBJECT: BOYCOTT DEMONSTRATIONS AT
NEW YORK CITY PUBLIC SCHOOLS
RACIAL MATTERS
(OO:NY)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 1-2-80 BY SP2 Partridge

Re NY teletype to Bureau, 3/16/64.

Enclosed for Bureau are eight copies of lhm in above matter.

b7C
b7D

SA [redacted] furnished information to

A copy is being disseminated locally to G-2, NYC.

3-Bureau (Encls.8) (RM)
b2 1-Baltimore (157-) (Enc.1) [redacted] (RM)
1-Chicago (157-) (Enc.1) [redacted] (RM)
b7D 1-New York [redacted] (422)
1-New York (105-8999) (MALCOLM X) (412)
1-New York

b7C [redacted]
(9)

1-Supervisor (#412)

105-8999-4241

b7C [redacted] #12

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

New York, New York
March 17, 1964

Bureau 157-4-34
New York 157-1036

Boycott Demonstrations at
New York City Public Schools
Racial Matters

[redacted]

b7C
b7D

[redacted]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 1-2-80 BY 2842 Pmd/gr

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

b7C

Searched [redacted]
Indexed
Filed

100-165-424A

Boycott Demonstrations at
New York City Public Schools

[redacted]

A characterization of the Nation of Islam is attached hereto.

[redacted]

The "New York World Telegram" of March 16, 1964, in a headline article named "2nd Boycott Loses Steam" narrated that a second boycott of city schools was staged on March 16, 1964, but Board of Education attendance figures showed it was less than half as effective as the first school boycott held February 3, 1964. The Board said a total of 268,024 children were absent from their classes on March 16, 1964. Normal pupil absenteeism runs about 100,000 a day, which means about 168,000 absences could be attributed to the boycott. Normal school attendance in New York City is over 1,000,000 students. During the February 3, 1964 boycott, the Board reported absences of 464,362, which was about 363,000 above normal. About 160 schools in the city were picketed on March 16, 1964, as compared to 300 schools picketed at the February 3, 1964 boycott.

Confidential sources utilized in the attached characterization of the Nation of Islam have furnished reliable information in the past.

4-750 (Rev. 12-14-88)

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
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☐ (b)(2)	☐ (b)(7)(B)	☐ (j)(2)
☐ (b)(3)	☐ (b)(7)(C)	☐ (k)(1)
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☐ (b)(4)	☐ (b)(8)	☐ (k)(5)
☐ (b)(5)	☐ (b)(9)	☐ (k)(6)
☐ (b)(6)		☐ (k)(7)

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2 Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s): Page(s) is/are Appendix pages used to characterize "Nation of Islam" "Must Girls Train" & "Fruit of Islam" Duplicate copies are located throughout Malcolm X's Headquarters and New York files.

☐ For your information: _____

_____

☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

NY 105-8999-4240 pages 3,4

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FB

NEGROES PONDER MALCOLM'S MOVE

Differ Over Significance of His Political Effort

By FRED POWLEDGE

Leaders of the civil rights movement here and in the South are weighing the significance of the decision last week by Malcolm X, the former Black Muslim leader, to start his own Negro nationalist political movement.

Some leaders think the slender, intense former convict will capture large numbers of Negro intellectuals and working-class people. Others think his popularity will exist only in relation to the amount of space and time the white man's newspapers and television networks spend on him.

Some see Malcolm's entry into the broader field of civil rights as a prelude to a bloody summer. Malcolm, who has advised Negroes to purchase weapons for self-defense, has predicted an increase in racial violence for the coming warm months.

A similar prediction was voiced frequently a year ago by close observers of the movement. But Negro frustration was effectively channeled into such nonviolent demonstrations as the March on Washington.

Frustration Greater Now

This summer, these same sources say, the frustration is much greater and the traditional civil rights leaders have less control over their followers. "There have been no concrete victories for a long time," one observer said yesterday. "I am really scared about what Malcolm may be able to do."

CLIPPING FROM THE

NY Times

EDITION late city

DATE 3-15-64

PAGE 46

FORWARDED BY NY DIVISION

NOT FORWARDED BY NY DIVISION X

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 1-24-84 BY 8269 [redacted]

105-8999-1235

SEARCHED [redacted]

SERIALIZED [redacted]

[redacted] NEW YORK

67C

1 xerox copy for 100-152975 3/24/64 67C

[redacted] 4/6

Another acute observer of the movement, Bayard Rustin, believes that Malcolm's call to action may interest Negroes who formerly had shunned the Nation of Islam. Mr. Rustin, who coordinated the March on Washington last summer and other demonstrations, said in an interview:

"There are many elements in the Negro community—among the working class and among the intellectuals—who, out of the frustration of the current situation, have been deeply attracted to Malcolm's analysis but who rejected his synthesis."

"They're not interested in the separate state idea, or in the back-to-Africa thing, or in the religion," he said, listing three major aims of the Muslim movement. "But they do accept Malcolm's analysis of the evils that are being practiced on the Negro people."

Malcolm's influence will be diminished, Mr. Rustin said, by "the degree to which the established civil rights organizations are more vigorous and develop a program which quite obviously affects the man in the street."

The Rev. Richard A. Hildebrand, a leader here in the effort for equal employment opportunity, echoed Mr. Rustin's feelings. He said:

"I welcome anybody who is going to help the civil rights struggle, but I cannot condone violence. Malcolm X is a brilliant person. I have a feeling that we can work together as long as we can contain that philosophy of violence."

Position Held Ridiculous

The Rev. Robert M. Kinloch, another local leader, called Malcolm's position ridiculous. "He's still preaching the same philosophy under a new brand name," Mr. Kinloch said.

Others in the civil rights movement expressed dismay at Malcolm's proposals. James Farmer, national director of the Congress of Racial Equality, said the black nationalist was proposing a race war that Negroes could not win.

Mrs. Gloria Richardson, whose civil rights movement in Cambridge, Md., has been abandoned by the national groups, said of Malcolm: "I think he can be helpful. He can offer something that has not been offered before."

James Forman, executive director of the Southern-based Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, agreed with Mr. Rustin that Malcolm's new position might be attractive to Negroes.

Has Many Followers

"It opens up possibilities for people who certainly thought the Muslims had something to say," he declared, "but who reject the whole concept of the separate state and the religion. That cat does have a lot of followers outside of the [Muslim] temple."

Some members of the civil rights movement predicted that a few Negro activists will use Malcolm's proposals as a means of threatening whites.

"It's the idea of using a man like this to frighten the people into giving us what we want," one well-known leader said privately. "A lot of people are saying that we should let Malcolm scare the masses and Baldwin scare the intellectuals and Adam scare the politicians." The references were to James Baldwin, the author, and Representative Adam Clayton Powell Jr., Democrat of Manhattan.

Another leader, Whitney M. Young Jr. of the National Urban League, believes that Malcolm's strength is artificial—that it is created on paper and videotape by the press.

"I think a great deal of the visibility which Malcolm receives from the media is due to an unconscious sympathy on the part of many reporters and others with the notion of separatism," he said.

FD-36 (Rev. 12-13-58)

FBI

Date: 3/13/64

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (25-330971)

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-35635)

SUBJECT: NATION OF ISLAM
IS - NOI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 1-24-84 BY 8269 THE/MWB,

Re Chicago airtel to the Director dated 3/12/64 carbon copy to New York.

The information set forth below pertains to the split between MALCOLM X LITTLE and ELIJAH MUHAMMED and was made available by [redacted] reliable, on 3/11/64.

[redacted] in New York told [redacted] had told [redacted] to give a report on what MALCOLM was doing. [redacted] "First of all, the reason he wanted this meeting today at 12:00 o'clock was because he sees that he has to go out of his house.

3 - Bureau (RM)
1 - Louisville (100-) [redacted] (Info)(RM)
1 - Newark [redacted] (Info)(RM)
6 - New York (105-7809)(Info)(RM)
(1 - 105-8999)(MALCOLM X LITTLE)
(1 - [redacted]
(1 - [redacted]
(1 - [redacted]
6 - Chicago
(1 - 100-6989)(ELIJAH MUHAMMED)
(1 - [redacted]
(1 - [redacted]
(1 - [redacted]
(1 - [redacted]
(16)

105-8999-436

SEARCHED [redacted] INDEXED
SERIALIZED [redacted]
MAR 1 1964
FBI - NEW YORK

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____

He is saying, however, that the Messenger has given him the house and he wants [redacted] some papers turning it over to him, all utilities and things like that. In other words he don't have no where to go and this is his move and he is saying that the Messenger give it to him."

[redacted] told MALCOLM [redacted] didn't know anything about it and had not heard about it from the Messenger. [redacted] "He is lying on the family. He is trying to make the people think that the family is divided from the Messenger. The Messenger is not receiving his mail and don't know what is happening because it is stopped when it goes to Chicago. He is saying that he is still with the Messenger and is still a Muslim, but those out there are jealous and they knew that I (MALCOLM) was right and therefore they are the ones that brought me (MALCOLM) to this."

[redacted] stating that MALCOLM has a few who are believing him. [redacted] MALCOLM was trying to find out how the Muslims are going.

[redacted] told ELIJAH MUHAMMED [redacted] talking with [redacted] is taking care of that letter that is going out. MUHAMMED stated that he received a two page telegram and a portion of it read "I will always be a Muslim, teaching whatever you have taught me and giving you full credit for what I know and what I am. You are still my leader and teacher." MUHAMMED commented that this was something that MALCOLM could not do in the position he has put himself in adding "I don't think he is not a Muslim. He probably will never go to anything else. When a man gets Islam in him for a few years he can't do nothing else unless he completely gives it up. If he gives it up, then he goes back to where he was and he will be worse off than he was

before. You can't be a Muslim going off and trying to start something of yourself."

[redacted] was again in contact with ELIJAH MUHAMMED [redacted] had forgotten to mention the way this was being understood among the public. [redacted] that MALCOLM was trying to sell the public on the fact he is setting up a "radical way of the Nation of Islam." MUHAMMED stated he was going to prepare a letter and send it to him (MALCOLM) today. [redacted] that on television the other night MALCOLM had said he was doing the radical work that you (MUHAMMED) would do as a righteous man.

67C

MUHAMMED commented that the telegram was quite a few words and added MALCOLM was double crossing himself by not making it clear to the public. MUHAMMED stated the telegram read as follows:

"The national officials there at the Chicago headquarters know that I never left the Nation of Islam of my own free will. It was they who conspired with [redacted] in New York to pressure me out of the Nation. In order to save the national officials and [redacted] the disgrace of having to explain their real reason for forcing me out, I announced through the press that it was my own decision to leave. I did not take the blame to protect those national officials, but to preserve the face your followers have in you and the Nation of Islam, and despite what have been said by the press, I have never spoken one word of criticism to them about your family. I will always be a Muslim, teaching what you have taught me, and giving you full credit for what I know and what I am. You are still my leader and teacher, even though those around you won't let me be one of your active followers or helpers. The present course I am taking is the only way I can circumvent their obstacles and still expedite your program. The tears you shed in Arizona give the public the impression that you also are of the opinion that I left of my own free will. So I am giving a copy of this wire to the press. May Allah bless you with health and success, I am still your brother and servant. MALCOLM X"

67C

b7C

[redacted] stated that MALCOLM has had a press conference set up for Thursday and had been on television almost every day. MUHAMMED pointed out where MALCOLM had double crossed himself in the above wire and commented about how MALCOLM says that he has never spoken one word of criticism about the family. MUHAMMED wondered how the family got into it if he has not mentioned them and also wondered how MALCOLM could be a Muslim if he gets out. MUHAMMED stated that if MALCOLM wants to be a Muslim why did he say that he was going out and join up with the Civil Rightists and the Black Nationalists because they are not with him, MUHAMMED. MUHAMMED commented that then he says MUHAMMED is still his leader and teacher. MUHAMMED stated that if he is still MALCOLM's leader and teacher, then he should let him dictate what he is to teach and he, MUHAMMED, should have been the dictator of MALCOLM leaving. MUHAMMED commented that he had never shed any tears in Phoenix.

b7C

[redacted] in New York told ELIJAH MUHAMMED he was going to do a three page story on MALCOLM [redacted] and had talked with [redacted] MUHAMMED stated he had not heard from [redacted] asked if MUHAMMED thought that any of the followers would follow MALCOLM and MUHAMMED stated he did not think so.

b7C

The following conversation ensued, [redacted] standing for [redacted] and M standing for MUHAMMED:

[redacted] Will he be accepted back into the movement if he wants to come back?

M Yes, on condition by way of submission and seeking forgiveness for any error that they have made.

[redacted] The papers reported that [redacted] is going to remain loyal to MUHAMMED.

M. I haven't talked with [redacted]

[redacted] What was your first reaction when you learned of what MALCOLM had done?

M. I gave that statement to the press two days ago in Phoenix.

[redacted] The press accused you of weeping.

M. In Islam they do not shed any tears.

[redacted] What was the purpose of the extended suspension?

M. It was an indefinite suspension from the beginning which was given to the press on December 3, 1963, by the National Secretary [redacted]

[redacted] What was the nature of that suspension?

M. No comment on that.

MUHAMMED then stated that he had not heard one word from MALCOLM until he received a telegram this morning. [redacted] then asked him about the house that MALCOLM lives in and whether MALCOLM would be able to live in the house. MUHAMMED replied that the house belongs to the Mosque in New York and this would be up to them. He added that whenever a Muslin leaves he is to surrender any property that belongs to the Nation of Islam.

[redacted] told ELIJAH MUHAMMED that in view of things that have appeared in the papers [redacted] wants to remain neutral as far as our active legal colored matters are concerned. [redacted] there was a lot at stake and added that we have come a long way. MUHAMMED expressed a desire to see [redacted] MUHAMMED and [redacted] agreed [redacted] would meet with MUHAMMED in Chicago on Thursday, March 12, 1964.

Chicago is not preparing a letterhead memorandum suitable for dissemination regarding the above. Chicago feels it should not be disseminated outside the Bureau at this stage and has also noted that pertinent factors in this matter have appeared in the press.

Chicago continues to follow developments and the Bureau and pertinent offices will be advised regarding this.

SAC, NEW ORLEANS (100-15908) 3/13/64

SAC, CHICAGO (100-35638)

NATION OF ISLAM
(ANNUAL MUSLIM CONVENTION)
IS - NOI

[redacted]

b7C
b7D

b7D

Enclosed herewith for offices receiving this communication, with the exception of New Orleans which is getting 2 copies, are one photostat copy each of instant report.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 1-24-11 BY 1269 JHE/wbb

2 - New Orleans (Encls 2)(Info)(NM)
1 - Atlanta (100-)(MARTIN LUTHER KING)(Encl 1)(Info)(NM)
1 - Boston (100- Encl 1)(Info)(NM)
1 - Cleveland (100- (Encl 1)(Info)(NM)
1 - Louisville (100- Encl 1)(Info)(NM)
1 - Newark (100- Encl 1)(Info)(NM)
1 - New York (100- Encl 1)(Info)(NM)
1 - Philadelphia (100- Encl 1)(Info)(NM)
1 - Washington Field (100-
2 - Chicago
(1 -
(1 - 100-)(MALCOLM

105-8999

MAR 16 1964

(13)

105-8999-4235

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4-750 (Rev. 12-14-88)

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☐ (b)(2)	☐ (b)(7)(B)	☐ (j)(2)
☐ (b)(3)	☒ (b)(7)(C)	☐ (k)(1)
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_____	☐ (b)(7)(E)	☐ (k)(3)
_____	☐ (b)(7)(F)	☐ (k)(4)
☐ (b)(4)	☐ (b)(8)	☐ (k)(5)
☐ (b)(5)	☐ (b)(9)	☐ (k)(6)
☐ (b)(6)		☐ (k)(7)

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☐ For your information: _____

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☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

NY 105-8999-4234

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FBI

Jolt to Rights Leaders: Muslim's Call to Arms

By DONALD R. FLYNN

The reaction of civil rights leaders across the nation to the call by Malcolm X for Negroes to arm themselves ranged today from stunned disbelief to grim warnings of a bloody and suicidal race war.

"If he means using guns against the police," said CORE Director James Farmer, "he is asking for a race war which can only end in anguish for the nation. It is utterly foolish. In a race war we simply would not have a chance of victory."

'HORRIBLE' ACTION

The militant cry of self-styled black patriot Malcolm X that Negroes should form rifle clubs and obtain rifles and shotguns "to defend themselves" also bewildered Chicago Urban League President Robert Long.

"Horrible," said Mr. Long. "It seems to me that in this the Muslim leader is really showing his colors and the dangers inherent in the Muslim movement."

The Rev. Joseph H. Jackson, president of the 5-million member National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., the nation's largest Negro organization, urged Negroes to stand by the Constitution.

"Violence will defeat our cause and destroy the freedom we already have," he said.

As the responsible civil rights leadership voiced their dismay, law enforcement officials in New York urged the Negro community here to ignore Malcolm's call to arms.

"This man is a dangerous person," declared Queens Dist. Atty. Frank O'Connor. "I think the idea of forming gun clubs is one of the worst things that could happen.

"I have heard him speak and read what he has to say, and I just couldn't believe it. Some of his statements are on the verge of being a violation of the law by advocating violence."

Dist. Attys. John M. Braisted Jr. of Staten Island and William Cahn of Nassau County agreed.

Malcolm X's philosophy "is a dangerous thing," said Mr.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 1-26-78 BY 2269 SP/tlw

CLIPPING FROM THE

NY Journal American

EDITION 7 Sports

DATE 3/3/64

PAGE 6

FORWARDED BY NY DIVISION

NOT FORWARDED BY NY DIVISION ✓

CLASS. & EXT. BY ...

REASON - FCIM II 1.2.4.2 ...

DATE OF REVIEW ...

105-8999-423

[redacted] 67C

[redacted] 1964

[redacted]

Memo 117 to 100-152759

3/3/64 [redacted] 3/3/64 Done

[redacted] 67C

Braisted, "particularly in certain areas—particularly in New York City."

"I feel that where there are indications of a strained relationship between the races, there would be a tendency to use a weapon if it were available."

Dist. Atty. Cahn asserted that "extremism of any kind is dangerous, especially when there are guns in the hands of the extremists. History and experience has proved that."

"No matter how noble the purpose, no matter how much I sympathize, with the cause, we will not tolerate anybody taking the law into his own hands," Mr. Cahn said.

Malcolm X, in his explosive call to arms yesterday, cried that, "White people will be shocked when . . . the passive little Negro . . . turns out to be a roaring lion. The whites had better understand this while there is still time."

He maintains there can be no Negro revolution "without bloodshed."

"I can't believe he's serious," said CORE director Farmer. To unleash violence would be "ultimately suicidal," he said.

"Of course," he said, "predictions of violence sometimes become self-fulfilling prophecies. But Malcolm X needs to explain what he means by 'self defense.' He says people have a right to shoot at dogs set to attack them.

"Behind every dog is a policeman. Does he mean using guns against the police?"

That would mean race war, said Mr. Farmer.

A complete brush-off came from James Foreman, executive secretary of the activist Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, who said his group is "too busy to give him any thought."

FD-36 (Rev. 12-13-56)

FBI

Date: 3/4/64

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (25-330971)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (100-35635)

SUBJECT: NATION OF ISLAM
IS - NOI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 1-24-82 BY [illegible]

b7D
b7C

Set forth below is information furnished by [redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past, which pertains to activities of [redacted] MALCOLM LITTLE as well as to possible dissension in Muhammad's Temple #12, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

2/28/64

b7C [redacted]

2/29/64

b7C [redacted]

2/2o/64

b7C [redacted] had received a call from Philadelphia, which concerned Minister

4231

Copies on 1 page
(2) [redacted] b7C

b7C

SEARCHED [redacted] INDEXED
SERIALIZED [redacted] FILED
MAR 6 1964
FBI — NEW YORK

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

CG 100-35635

Copies

3 - Bureau (RM)

2 - Louisville
1 -

4 - New York (105-7809) (RM)
1 - 105-8999 (MALCOLM LITTLE)
1 -

3 - Philadelphia (25-26094) (RM)
1 -

1 - Phoenix (105-ELIJAH MUHAMMAD) (Info) (RM)

10 - Chicago
1 - 100-6989 (ELIJAH MUHAMMAD)
1
1
1
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1

b7c MALCOLM. [redacted] there was some pretty serious charges out there about MALCOLM and a Sister.

2/29/64

[redacted] had heard two more rumors about the one who was in charge of Number 12, adding they had been passed on by people who had come to
b7c Chicago from there. [redacted] stated that there were several things apparently and added it has been bad for the believers. [redacted] to handle it.

3/1/64

[redacted] told ELIJAH MUHAMMAD that [redacted]
b7c had received calls from believers in Philadelphia complaining about one of the brothers there.

[redacted] hat MALCOLM was supposed to be on NBC
b7c T.V. at 12 o'clock on Monday. MUHAMMAD stated they will just have to wait and see, adding he did not believe MALCOLM would appear personally on T.V.

[redacted] that the "Chicago Defender," a local newspaper published daily in Chicago, Illinois, had called [redacted] stating they had heard he was trying to make a split. MUHAMMAD replied
b7c he did not think this was true, adding he (probably MALCOLM) cannot make a split because you have to make out with the believers and he does not have many believers with him. MUHAMMAD instructed [redacted] not to talk it around. [redacted] that if he (MALCOLM) should go to Phoenix to see MUHAMMAD [redacted] will go to Phoenix at that time if necessary. MUHAMMAD stated he would let [redacted] know about this later.

MUHAMMAD then instructed [redacted]
b7c should go to Number 12 and try to put a stop to things going on there. [redacted] would send MUHAMMAD a report before [redacted] does anything.

CG 100-35635

3/1/64

[redacted] was in contact with [redacted]

[redacted] continued that a brother was also in town and wanted the phone number of the man out the way (probably MALCOLM). [redacted] did not give this number to this brother. [redacted] told [redacted] of some of the things that "he" has been doing which are contrary to what MUHAMMAD has been teaching. [redacted] that several long distance phone calls have been made and the bill had been presented to the Temple. [redacted] stated that if "he" keeps on he will be out completely.

[redacted]

3/2/64

[redacted] was told [redacted] that a newscast has indicated that [redacted] and Minister MALCOLM are going to split (apparently away from ELIJAH MUHAMMAD).

3/2/64

[redacted] told [redacted] had just read about [redacted] and MALCOLM. [redacted] had told [redacted] not to have anything to do with MALCOLM [redacted] also stated that MALCOLM has himself tied up in a financial situation too. [redacted] added that it could be that Minister MALCOLM will have them all wrapped around his finger.

[redacted] continued that it would take more than the [redacted] to knock any group against us.

67C [redacted] has heard that MALCOLM had talked to [redacted] about [redacted] heard that MALCOLM [redacted] had stayed [redacted] in Miami and [redacted] that MALCOLM does not have a follower in the world but is just using [redacted]

New York, Phoenix and Philadelphia should alert [redacted] Further pertinent
67D information received by Chicago regarding activities [redacted] MALCOLM LITTLE and dissension in the Philadelphia NOI Temple will be forwarded to the pertinent offices.

Chicago is not including information of this type in letterhead memorandum suitable for dissemination as it does not feel nonspecific data of this type should be disseminated outside the Bureau, but should be used for lead and intelligence purposes.

MALCOLM ABSENT AS MUSLIMS MEET

Power Struggle Is Believed Mounting in Movement

By M. S. HANDLER
Special to The New York Times

CHICAGO, Feb. 26—Neither Malcolm X nor any other Black Muslim leaders from New York were present today at the movement's one-day national convention in the Coliseum.

Their absence strengthened the view that the Negro separatist movement might be facing a serious split.

As Muslim ministers from all parts of the country spoke, it became clear that the New York [redacted] most numerous, active and influential, had prayed [redacted] or were in [redacted]

A battle for power is [redacted] being waged between Malcolm and the leaders of the Chicago headquarters who surround Mr. Muhammad, the absolute ruler of the movement.

Malcolm was suspended as the Eastern spokesman for the movement after a speech last December in which he attributed President Kennedy's assassination to the "chickens coming home to roost."

The impression of an impending crisis was further strengthened when Elijah Muhammad, the national leader, handed the temporary chairman a batch of congratulatory telegrams to be read. None had been sent by the New York its leaders.

Precautions Taken

White reporters and photographers were searched thoroughly before being admitted to the hall. They were asked to empty their pockets, then to extend their arms. Even pencils were examined, presumably to determine whether they concealed bullets before secret firing pens.

CLIPPING FROM THE

NY Times

EDITION late city

DATE 2-27-64

PAGE 22

FORWARDED BY NY DIVISION

NOT FORWARDED BY NY DIVISION X

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 1-24-84 BY 8269 TAE/WEB/TC,

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SERIALIZED [redacted]
FBI — NEW YO[redacted]
412

A line of neatly dressed guards ringed the vast hall.

Ushers led long lines of Muslims to their seats. The seats behind the platform were filled by several thousand women in long white gowns.

Signs hung from the balconies read: "We must have some of this land"; "We must make jobs for ourselves"; "We must protect our women" and "There is no God but Allah; Muhammad is his apostle."

The convention opened with a prayer to Allah. All the Muslims lowered their heads and extended their arms forward, palms upward.

"Oh, Allah, make Muhammad successful in this wilderness of North America. Bless Muhammad and his followers."

Each speaker began and ended his address with the Arabic "salaam aleikhim" ("peace be with you"). All used the same theme: Mr. Muhammad is the savior for whom the Negro people have been waiting 400 years in America; he is the greatest man of the century, and will free the Negroes from bondage.

Indications of a planned move against Malcolm came before Mr. Muhammad spoke. A young minister with the oratorical techniques of a Southern Negro Baptist preacher introduced Lonnie X, new minister of the Muslim temple in Washington, D. C.

He described Lonnie as an honor graduate of Lincoln University in Pennsylvania, holder of a master's degree in mathematics from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and a Doctor of Philosophy degree in mathematics from Cornell University.

He said Lonnie was writing three books on mathematics and its relationship to the Negro problem.

Lonnie, in a long speech, said Negroes were on a "march of conquest."

He referred at length to a recent New York Times article on the Bryn Mawr-Haverford civil rights conference. He said the article had reported that even Negroes committed to the civil rights movement had admitted the powerful attraction of the Black Muslim ideology for intellectuals.

When Lonnie had finished, the minister who had introduced him whipped the crowd of 4,000 into hysteria in preparation for Mr. Muhammad's speech.

Mr. Muhammad wore his gold-embroidered velvet hat with a quarter-moon and the Star of Islam on the front. The leader, who spends his winters in Phoenix, Ariz., because he suffers from asthma, appeared in better physical condition than in the last two years.

MALCOLM X'S ROLE DIVIDING MUSLIMS

New York Leader May Shun Group's Chicago Parley

By M. S. HANDLER
Special to The New York Times

CHICAGO, Feb. 25 — There was no indication here tonight that Malcolm X, the dynamic New York leader of the Black Muslim movement, would attend tomorrow's national convention.

A struggle for power is believed being waged by Malcolm, whose personality has been nationally identified with the Negro separationist movement, and second-echelon leaders of the Chicago headquarters who surround Elijah Muhammed, the absolute ruler of the movement.

Malcolm was suspended as the Eastern spokesman for the Black Muslims following a speech in Manhattan Center last December in which he attributed President Kennedy's assassination to the "chickens coming home to roost."

Mr. Muhammed said the remarks were an inaccurate reflection of Muslim attitudes.

Political Infighting Seen

Rumors have persisted that Mr. Muhammed's followers in Chicago used the remarks to "cut Malcolm down to size."

It was said tonight that Mr. Muhammed intended to leave the case of Malcolm in abeyance and not to mention him in his address tomorrow.

More than 4,000 members of the movement, which is officially known as The Nation of Islam, are scheduled to fill the Coliseum when the one-day convention convenes at 2 P.M.

Normal convention procedures, such as debate and the voting of resolutions, are not practiced by the Muslims. All authority is vested in Mr. Muhammed, who will announce any decisions he may consider necessary.

Election Year a Factor

The conflict between Malcolm and the Chicago headquarters, according to an increasing number of reports, not only involves personalities but also a sharp division of opinion about the role the Muslims should play in this election year.

The emergence of Malcolm as a national figure was due to his forceful, uncompromising exposition of the Muslim thesis that total separation of American Negroes from white America would alone solve the Negro problem. Whites, the group believe, originally imposed segregation and will never grant equal rights to Negroes.

Malcolm has contended that the present civil rights struggle is destined to fail and to provoke bloodshed. This is the traditional view shared by all Muslims.

However, it was Malcolm's talent to evangelize the Negroes who even oppose separation and favor integration that identified him in the minds of whites as well as Negroes as the national leader of the Black Muslims. The Chicago headquarters, it seemed, pursued a passive line.

Those acquainted with Malcolm's views are convinced that he feels the time has come for the Muslims to take the offensive away from civil rights organizations.

He is said to be convinced that disillusionment with the civil rights movement has developed to a point where the Muslims should now try to rally Negroes to the banner of total separation from white America.

CLIPPING FROM THE
NY Times
EDITION Late city
DATE 3-26-64
PAGE 39
FORWARDED BY NY DIVISION ____
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INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 1-27-84 BY 8269 THE/lwesley

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SEARCHED [redacted]
SERIALIZED [redacted]
FBI — NEW YORK

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National Role Seen

Leaders of the Chicago headquarters reportedly fear that unless Malcolm is curbed, he will eventually inherit the Muslims on a national basis.

Malcolm was in Miami until yesterday visiting with Cassius Clay, the boxer. Although Mr. Clay's entourage has denied he is a member, Mr. Clay is a Muslim as well as a close friend of Malcolm.

Malcolm, it is believed, has set next Sunday as the date for a decision on his place in the Muslin organization. It is known that he feels that unless he is restored to his former activities, he may return to the national scene in a manner that would make his previous efforts pale by comparison.

Mr. Muhammed's delaying tactics in determining Malcolm's future are said to reflect a certain reserve about the dynamism Malcolm wishes to impart into the Muslin movement.

Mr. Muhammed is reported to be holding himself aloof from the struggle between Malcolm and the Chicago headquarters because he is aware of Malcolm's national standing.

However, Mr. Muhammed, it is said, has been nettled by the national spotlight focused on his pupil.

FD-36 (Rev. 12-13-56)

FBI

Date: 2/24/64

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (25-330971)

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-35635)

SUBJECT: NATION OF ISLAM
IS - NOI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2-24-84 BY [redacted]

Re Chicago airtel, ccs to Louisville, Miami, New York and Phoenix, dated 2/14/64.

Referenced airtel set forth details regarding a letter which apparently appeared in East Coast newspapers and which was critical of MUHAMMAD's family and also set forth reactions of MUHAMMAD and his family.

3 - Bureau (RM)
1 - Baltimore (100-16471) (Info) (RM)
1 - Newark (14-169) (Info) (RM)
2 - New York (105-7809) (RM)
(1) - 105-8999) (MALCOLM LITTLE)
1 - Philadelphia (25-26094) (Info) (RM)
1 - Phoenix (105-93) (Info) (RM)
9 - Chicago
(1 - 100-6989 (ELIJAH MUHAMMAD)
(1 - [redacted]

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(18)

105-8999-4625

SEARCHED [redacted] INDEXED
SERIALIZED [redacted]
FEB 26 1964
FBI — NEW YORK

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Sent _____ M Per _____

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[redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past, on 2/14/64, advised [redacted] was in contact with [redacted] and told [redacted] about the trip [redacted] made to New York on [redacted] continued - The spirit was wonderful after the about face they had to make. There were more people than [redacted] had ever seen. They were all registered too, not visitors, just Fruit and MGT.

b7C

[redacted] talk was around the paper that [redacted] wrote. [redacted] now has the spirit of Savior's Day after seeing others striving. [redacted] stated they have first hand knowledge of him (probably MALCOLM LITTLE). [redacted] agreed saying there was no mention of that there. [redacted] continued - That thing that we had Sunday has been in all of their papers there but you didn't even know it was there. I told them that we stick together, [redacted] and let people know that we don't even know it is raining. As far as we are concerned the sun is shining and we don't even know it is raining; but if they see us apart and see they are making a go they will keep doing it.

[redacted] did not know what the tiff was all about. [redacted] replied that every year they do this and at the class closing on Thursday night they have an exhibition. [redacted] knows now.

b7C

[redacted] continued - They had all the classes from the East Cost and [redacted] (Philadelphia), [redacted] was really pitiful. Baltimore and 2 or 3 others are bad too but all in all the spirit is high. [redacted] stated that they need not worry what they say about them. [redacted] agreed adding they have talked about us all our lives.

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[redacted] on 2/14/64, advised [redacted] told [redacted] about [redacted] New York with [redacted] told of how wonderful the spirit is despite the turnabout in leadership that they had to make. [redacted] blamed it on the leadership there commenting they would not accept help from No. 2 (Chicago).

[redacted] made a wonderful talk. [redacted] that afterwards they presented [redacted] with a big envelope [redacted] made a very nice thank you talk and said they were the ones that made it possible for [redacted] to be there. [redacted] then asked them to do [redacted] a favor and take the gift and give it to the less fortunate people right there. [redacted] People stood on their heads and some were crying. [redacted] said this was the best thing we could have done. All those children love us. You can't come between people that are nice. The sisters there love [redacted] as a man and as a Muslim.

b7C

[redacted] on 2/14/64, advised [redacted] congratulated [redacted] on the way [redacted] handled things in New York. [redacted] stated they had a good turnout from all up and down the East Coast and the believers are behind the Messenger. [redacted] You wouldn't even know he (MALCOLM) had ever been there. That is a thing of the past. If he gets back in the Messenger will have to be the one that puts him there because the people are happy there the way they are now. They feel free. The workers don't feel like they have been under a hammer all the time. They have been suppressed. Seems like they have a new spirit.

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[redacted]

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The above is not in letterhead form as it [redacted] and is not specific. Chicago does not feel material of this type, non-specific in nature, should be disseminated outside the Bureau.

FD-350 (Rev. 7-16-63)

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Black Muslims split by leaders' battle

By EDWARD W. O'BRIEN

Star-Ledger Washington Bureau

The Black Muslims are being split by a battle for power between the Negro extremist group's two leaders, Elijah Muhammad, the self-styled "Messenger of Allah," and Malcolm X, who was until recently Muhammad's first lieutenant and chief spokesman.

In the past few weeks, Malcolm X, minister of the group's Mosque No. 7 in New York City, has challenged Muhammad's authority by soliciting support for himself among other Black Muslim local leaders around the country.

Muhammad, last reported at his winter home in Phoenix, Ariz., is described as outraged by his subordinate's audacity. In information leaking out of the ultra-secret group, Muhammad is pictured as weighing whether to expel Malcolm X as a rebellious malcontent.

• • •

WHATEVER THE outcome, the struggle is viewed as significant because of the Black Muslims' far-out position on Negro civil rights. The Black Muslims, candidly anti-white and anti-Christian, advocate not integration but a totaly separated Negro society.

The movement has been growing in several Northern and border industrial cities and in a few places in the South. Estimates of Black Muslim membership range from 15,000 to 250,000.

The fight between Muhammad and Malcolm X was triggered by Malcolm's comments on President Kennedy's assassination, but apparently had been brewing for a longer time over the question of a successor to the aging Muhammad.

• • •

MALCOLM X, a 38-year-old ex-convict, made a speech in New York on Dec. 1 in which he said that the assassination was an instance of "chickens coming home to roost" and that chickens coming home to roost "have always made me glad."

He also criticized Mr. Kennedy as having conspired with white liberals and with Negro leaders to achieve no more than "tokenism" in advancing the Negro cause.

Muhammad, who shuns public attention, quickly suspended Malcolm as the group's spokesman, accused him of failing to "follow the way of Islam" and proclaimed that he would allow Malcolm to continue as a minister but not to "speak in public."

• • •

MALCOLM X replied he was accepting the rebuke. He affirmed that "anything Mr. Muhammad does is all right with me," and said he would keep busy "administering the affairs of my mosque."

Though the Black Muslims stress rigid discipline and total adherence to Muhammad as their sole prophet, Malcolm X's obedience to his superior was something less than whole-hearted, it was learned.

• • •

HE OBVIOUSLY regarded Muhammad as declining in power and possibly as vulnerable to a takeover of the group by a younger man like himself.

However, Muhammad has made plain he has no intention of relinquishing either his position or the accompanying lush style of living.

There has been talk that his choice as successor would not be Malcolm X but rather from among his youngest son, Akbar Muhammad; Lonnie X, minister of the Washington mosque, or Jeremiah X, Birmingham minister.

SAC
ASAC
C-1
C-2
C-3
C-4
C
S-1
S-2
Night Supervisor
SA
SA
Chief Clerk
Chief Steno
Secretary

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

14
NEWARK STAR LEDGER
NEWARK, NJ

Date: 2-22-64
Edition: FINAL
Author:
Editor: PHILIP HOCHSTEIN
Title:

NATION OF ISLAM
Character:
or IS-NOI
Classification:
Submitting Office: NEWARK, NJ

☐ Being Investigated

105-8999-4624

SEARCHED
SERIALIZED
FEB 26 1964
NEWARK

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 1-26-84 BY 8249 TAW/SAB/RC

1 CC Bureau 1 CG + 17770 b7C

Malcolm X 'Comeback' In March

Minister Malcolm X, local Black Muslim leader, who has been under suspension by Elijah Muhammad for almost three months, will return in full swing after the first of March whether his suspension is lifted or not, the Amsterdam News learned this week.

A source close to the outspoken Muslim leader said he intends to return to "the thick of things and will be more active than he was in 1963."

The report gave rise to indications that Elijah Muham-

(Continued on Page Two)

mad would lift the suspension shortly after the Muslims convention in Chicago next week.

Malcolm X is in Miami where he is expected to remain until after the Clay-Liston fight. He is expected to attend the fight.

Rumors have circulated in Miami that Clay, who is a close friend of the Muslim minister, has invited him as his guest for the championship contest.'

Indications of Malcolm's planned return to resume his activities have been sensed in letters to groups which have invited him to speak. They have received notice that they would be contacted after March 15.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 1-24-84 BY 1269 TAS/WEBSTER

"New York Amsterdam News"
2/22/64
p. 1 c. 3

105-8999-4023
SEARCHED [redacted]
SERIALIZED [redacted]
FEB 27 1964
FBI — NEW YORK

CONFIDENTIAL

SAC, NEW YORK (100-152759)

APR 2 - 1964

SA [redacted] (#412)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 1-24-88 BY 226 9 Sec/lw/tcy

MUSLIM MOSQUE INC.
IS - MISCELLANEOUS

This memorandum is being prepared to coordinate and record the investigation conducted to date on captioned organization.

It is noted that MALCOLM X. LITTLE, former minister of NOI Mosque #7, New York City, who had been placed on suspension in December, 1963, by ELIJAH MUHAMMAD, announced on Sunday, 3/8/64, that he had broken with MUHAMMAD and the NOI. On 3/12/64 MALCOLM held a press conference at the Park Sheraton Hotel, Seventh Avenue and 55th Street, New York City, where he announced the formation and incorporation of his new organization named Muslim Mosque, Inc. The organization would have a religious base of Islam but it indicated that the organization would have a political, economic, social and cultural philosophy of black nationalism.

Press Conference
Park Sheraton Hotel
New York City
3/12/64

2/24/88 Classified by 226 bty/lsw
Declassify on: OADR
Compld 26188 Compld 235.

b1 [redacted] (C)

b1 [redacted]

2- New York (100-152759)
(1) New York (105-8999) (MALCOLM LITTLE)

(3) [redacted] b7C

SEARCHED [redacted] INDEXED
SERIALIZED [redacted] FILED
APR 2 - 1964
FBI - NEW YORK

b7C

CONFIDENTIAL

NY 105-8999

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b7E

On 3/12/64 SAS [redacted] and [redacted] attended MALCOLM's press conference [redacted] Approximately 60 persons from various news services, radio and television attended this conference which was held in the Tapestry Room starting at 11:00 a.m. and lasting approximately to about 1:00 p.m.

The above agents obtained photographs, particularly of those who appeared to be members of MALCOLM's group and these photographs have been placed in the 1B section of the file. One of the 20 mimeographed copies of MALCOLM's prepared text was obtained and has been placed in the 1A file along with mimeographed copies of MALCOLM's statement on 3/8/64 and the telegram he sent to ELIJAH MUHAMMAD on 3/11/64, which were also passed out at the conference.

The above agents observed and recognized the following known NOI members who appeared to be a part of MALCOLM's group:

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[redacted]

5. An unknown Negro male age 23, 6 feet 1 inch tall, 165 pounds, long fuzzy hair, dark complexion, small mustache, wearing continental style suit. This individual took the text of MALCOLM's opening statement and had mimeographed copies thereof prepared. A photograph of this individual was obtained.

105-8999

All of the above were approached during the course of the conference and asked their names and whether they were affiliated with MALCOLM and all replied "no comment", with the exception of [redacted] who identified himself, answered some questions, but denied he held any official position in MALCOLM's new organization.

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The following information was also obtained by the above agents during the course of the press conference:

b7C [redacted] SA [redacted] determined that the place where the above mentioned unknown Negro male took the text of MALCOLM's speech to be copied, had telephone number NU 2-6811. This number is registered to Xerox Corporation and their reproducing office is located at 240 Madison Avenue, New York City.

[redacted] also passed around paper to members of the press who desired to place their names thereon which would then place them on the mailing list of the Muslim Mosque Inc.

b7C [redacted]

b7E [redacted]

The full and complete results of the press conference and the remarks of MALCOLM X were sent in New York airtel and letterhead memorandum dated 3/13/64.

b7C [redacted]

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b7C
b7D [redacted]

Incorporation of the Muslim Mosque Inc.

On 3/16/64 [redacted] Supervisor, Business Section, Clerk of Court, New York County, New York, advised
b7C SA [redacted] that on that date Attorney EDWARD W. JACKO JR. of New York City had filed incorporation papers for the Muslim Mosque Inc. pursuant to Article 10 of the Religious Corporation law of the State of New York. The papers were filed under number 2330 for 1964. [redacted] made the incorporation papers available and they were reviewed
b7C by SA [redacted]

These papers consisted of a Certificate of Incorporation pursuant to the Religious Corporation Law of New York State and were executed under Article 10 of the law. The papers reflected that on 3/9/64 in conformity with Section 192 of the Religious Corporation Law a meeting to decide for incorporation was held at 23-11 97th Street, Queens, New York. (It is noted that this is the residence
b7C of MALCOLM X.
b7D [redacted] protect by request). Present at this meeting on 3/9/64 were MALCOLM X. LITTLE who presided and EARL GRANT and JAMES M. K. WARDEN. At this meeting it was decided to incorporate and the name chosen was "Muslim Mosque, Inc." It was also decided at this meeting that there would be no less than 3 nor more than 21 trustees of this organization. The meeting then proceeded to elect LITTLE, GRANT and WARDEN as the trustees to serve until the first Sunday of March, 1965. On that date a second election of trustees would be held, and thereafter a new election of trustees would be held on the first Sunday of each calendar year.

The papers further indicated that the principal places of worship were to be in the Borough of Manhattan, New York County, New York. The purposes of the new corporation were set forth in seven paragraphs numbered A through G, a Photostatic copy of which was obtained and has been placed in the 1A file.

This Certificate of Incorporation was executed on 3/9/64, notarized on 3/10/64 and filed on 3/16/64 by EDWARD W. JACKO JR., Attorney-at-Law, 217 West 125th Street, New York City, New York. The information concerning the incorporation was furnished to the Bureau by New York airtel and letterhead memorandum dated 3/19/64.

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4-750 (Rev. 12-14-88)

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

1 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

☒ Deletions were made pursuant to the exemptions indicated below with no segregable material available for release to you.

Section 552		Section 552a
☐ (b)(1)	☐ (b)(7)(A)	☐ (d)(5)
☐ (b)(2)	☐ (b)(7)(B)	☐ (j)(2)
☐ (b)(3)	☒ (b)(7)(C)	☐ (k)(1)
_____	☒ (b)(7)(D)	☐ (k)(2)
_____	☐ (b)(7)(E)	☐ (k)(3)
_____	☐ (b)(7)(F)	☐ (k)(4)
☐ (b)(4)	☐ (b)(8)	☐ (k)(5)
☐ (b)(5)	☐ (b)(9)	☐ (k)(6)
☐ (b)(6)		☐ (k)(7)

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X FOR THIS PAGE X
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FBI/DOJ

CONFIDENTIAL

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[redacted]

Muslim Mosque Inc. Open Meeting 3/15/64

The first open meeting of the Muslim Mosque Inc. was held on Sunday evening, 3/15/64, at the Dawn Casino, 2837 Seventh Avenue, New York City at 8:00 p.m. with approximately 400 persons in attendance. Information concerning this

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meeting was obtained from [redacted] local newspapers. Results of this open meeting were set out in New York airtel and letterhead memorandum dated 3/19/64. [redacted]

Muslim Mosque Inc. Meeting 3/22/64

The second open meeting of the Muslim Mosque Inc. was held on Sunday evening, 3/22/64, at Rockland Palace, Eighth Avenue and 155th Street, New York City at 8:00 p.m. with approximately 1,000 people in attendance. Information

b7D

was obtained concerning this meeting [redacted] local newspapers and was set out in New York airtel and letterhead memorandum, dated 3/23/64.

CONFIDENTIAL

Muslim Mosque Inc. Membership

In addition to the NOI members mentioned above as having joined with MALCOLM and the Muslim Mosque, Inc.,

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[redacted]

Investigation of this organization continuing.

Dual Charges

The X Brothers—Malcolm, Philbert

By James W. Sullivan
Of The Herald Tribune Staff

Former Black Muslim leader Malcolm X yesterday predicted with mild words delivered in mild tones to his brother's charge that he is a victim "of great mental illness."

"How long has this illness existed?" he asked. "Does he date it during the time I was organizing the people for Mr. Muhammad? If so, why didn't he tell about it then?"

The brother, Philbert X, minister of mosques in four Michigan cities, charged at a press conference in Chicago Thursday, that Malcolm is "a Brutus, a Benedict Arnold."

Malcolm's reckless efforts will cause many of our unsuspecting people, who listen and follow him, unnecessary loss of blood and life," he said.

Malcolm's answer yesterday was that his brother was forced to make the unprecedented attack to keep his job.

"We've been good friends all our lives," he said. "He has a job he needs; that's why he said what he did." Philbert, at 41, is 2 years older than Malcolm.

"I know for a fact," Malcolm said, "that they flew him in from Lansing, Mich., put a script in his hand and told him to read it. He is minister of Mosque No. 16, the only one in the nation of Islam that is a complete failure."

Philbert also has mosques in Grand Rapids, Muskegon and Flint, Mich. Malcolm was suspended by his chief, Elijah Muhammad, after he called the assassination of President John F. Kennedy "chickens coming home to roost."

His brother charged that Malcolm is seeking revenge against Muhammed and "would do anything" to slander him. Malcolm denied the charge and defied anyone to find any statement he has

CLIPPING FROM THE
NY N. Y. HERALD TRIBUNE
EDITION LATE CITY
DATE 3/28/64
PAGE 5
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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 1-24-84 BY 8269 [redacted]

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Philbert X

made which is derogatory to his former leader.

He was more bitter about the charge that he is leading his people to unnecessary loss of life.

"How can he say that when he's following a man who has said that, if 10 million of our people are killed, there will still be 10 million left to enjoy freedom, justice and equality?" he asked.

"I haven't made any statement yet that is that extreme."

Malcolm, minister of a mosque in Harlem, recently suggested that armed Negro militia groups be organized to shoot back when Negroes are attacked.

FD-350 (4-3-62)

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Neighbors Find a Quiet Malcolm X

By EDITH J. CAHILL
Of the World-Telegram Staff

The one-and-a-half story brick and shingle house with seven brick steps flanked by pine trees stands in a modest integrated neighborhood at 23-11 97th St., East Elmhurst, Queens.

The man who lives there is quiet and unassuming as a neighbor residents say.

He is Malcolm X—the firebrand of a new Negro movement Most of his neighbors have a hard time reconciling the man who casually passes the time of day when they meet with the orator of TV and public meetings.

Few of them even knew who he was, until his recent rise to prominence.

"I didn't know until I passed him on the street and said to myself 'There's that face I've seen on TV'" said one neighbor, a woman of his own race who is a practical nurse.

"I don't care for his philosophy — from start to finish," she declared. "I told my husband only recently that if we got the chance we should move away from this block and that treacherous man. I think he's going to cause a riot.

"Malcolm X," she went on, "has a personal grudge but so many people are gullible and don't know what they are doing, they follow him blindly. I think his followers are the lowest of ignorant, gullible people."

'We Have Laws'

Another neighbor, an elderly Negro who lives directly across the street, exchanges pleasant greetings with Malcolm X when they meet. But of Malcolm X's proposal that Negroes arm themselves with rifles he comments impatiently. "Seems to me that wouldn't work. We have laws in this country."

For the most part, the neighborhood attitude is, "He doesn't bother me." A shopkeeper called him "quiet and unassuming," but said some of his followers have acted belligerently.

Malcolm X is seldom seen around the neighborhood during the day but sometimes the lights in his house burn late at night.

Clay Visited

Soon after Cassius Clay became heavyweight champion he came to call and signed autographs for neighborhood youngsters.

Neighbors say there are three young children in Malcolm X's family, though they are seldom seen.

When a reporter rang the doorbell, a woman appeared but declined to open the door. "I'm the baby sitter," she said and turned away.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

1 NEW YORK WORLD TELEGRAM AND THE

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Date: 3/25/'64
Edition: METRO
Author: EDITH J. CAH
Editor: RICHARD D. F
Title: MALCOLM LITT

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Character: SM-NOI
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Classification: BU
Submitting Office: NY

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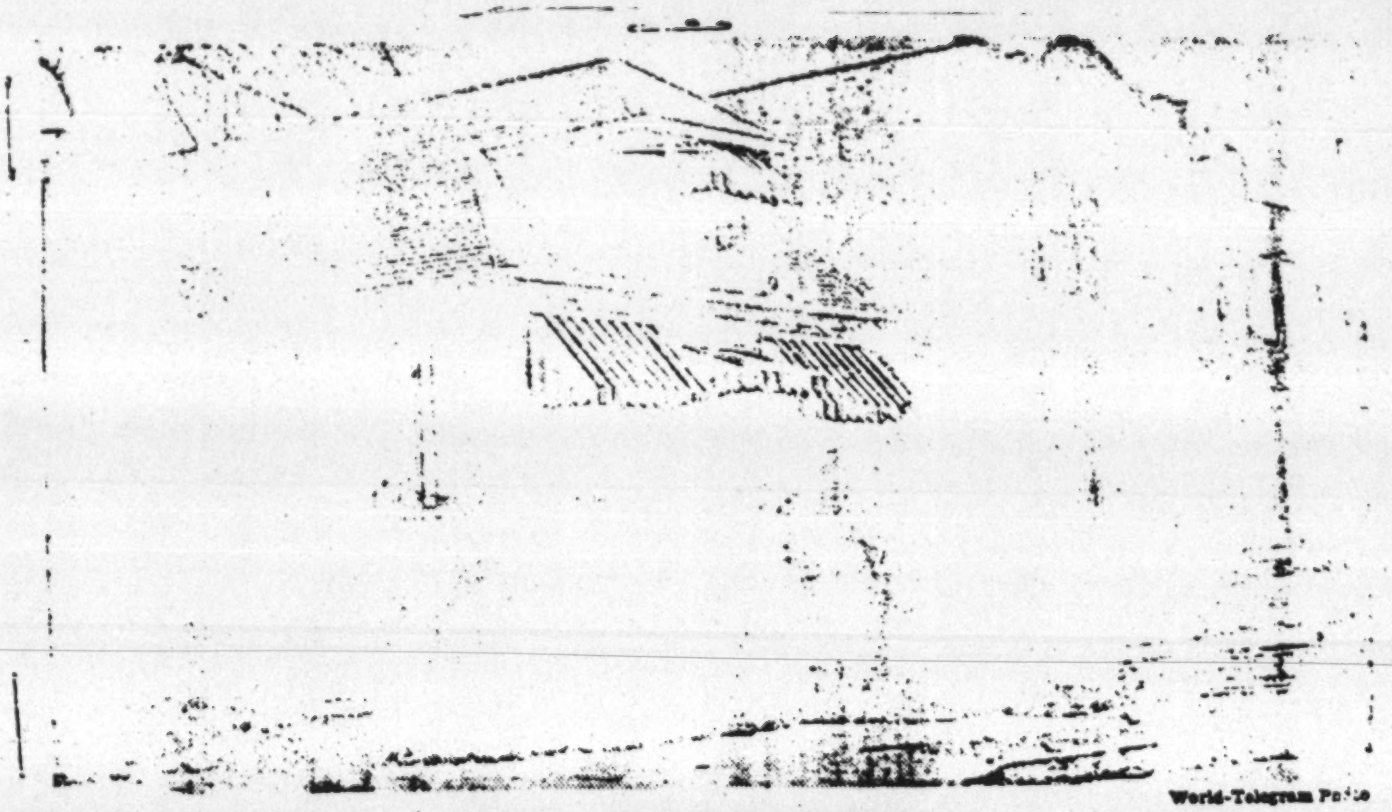

World-Telegram Photo

Malcolm X's house in Elmhurst.

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (25-29163) DATE: 3/24/64

FROM : SAC, NEWARK (14-169)

SUBJECT: NATION OF ISLAM
IS - NOI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 1-24-82 BY 1269 JHK/KSR/ky

RE: New York letter to Newark, 2/28/64.

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2 - San Francisco (RM)
1 - New Haven (100-15927)(INFO)(RM)
2 - New York (105-8999 MALCOLM X) (RM)
1 - 105-7809 (NOI)
1 - Newark

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Klan Studying 'Whites Only' Escape Plan

Associated Press

ATLANTA, March 23 — A new plan to escape integration is being considered by Ku Klux Klan leaders who spoke at a mass rally attended by Black Muslims.

Robert Shelton of Tuscaloosa, Ala., imperial wizard of the United Klans of America Inc., told the Associated Press last night that the Klan is considering a pilot private-Caucasian community.

"It's still in the planning stage," he said, "and it may be more than a year before anything is started."

Cites Malcolm X

Earlier, at a rally in Atlanta, Calvin Craig, the grand dragon of the Georgia Klan, described former Muslim leader Malcolm X as the coming Negro leader. He said Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, "has gone as far as he can with the peaceful movement. The Negroes realize that even with peace, they are not going to get what they want."

Shelton said the experimental project "probably will be attempted on 45 or 50 acres of land with maybe a hundred homes. The facilities will be for the White Caucasian Race."

"We want to create an economy for the white man, an organization where we can put our own money to our own use. We also want to provide recreation facilities, community houses, schools and churches, in addition to housing," he said.

1000 at Rally

Both Klan leaders spoke to an estimated 1000 persons at the rally in downtown Atlanta. Their targets were the civil rights bill, Mayor Ivan Allen Jr. of Atlanta, Police Chief Herbert T. Jenkins and Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy.

White persons predominated in the crowd. But Jeremiah X, leader of the Atlanta Black Muslim movement, and members of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee also were present.

Said Craig, acknowledging the presence of Jeremiah X and an aide: "I have more respect for Jeremiah than I do for the mayor of Atlanta. I'd rather have the two Negroes than two scalawags from the mayor's office."

Cops on Hand

The only incident occurred when a white youth who accompanied two Negroes was struck in the back by a robed Klansmen. Police, out in force, devoted most of their effort to directing traffic.

About 200 Klansmen attended. At one point white persons surrounded several Negroes. Craig said:

"Leave those Negroes alon. Let them come in peace and hear what we have to say ... If it burns their ears, let it."

CLIPPING FROM THE

NY N Y WORLD TELEGRAM & SUN

EDITION Metro

DATE MAR 23 1964

PAGE 8

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MAR 23 1964

FBI — NEW YORK

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41

Malcolm's Brother Calls Him 'Danger'

CHICAGO, March 27 (UPI). — A brother of Black Muslim defector Malcolm X denounced "My wayward brother, Malcolm," as a false prophet to the Negro people.

"The reckless efforts of my brother, Malcolm, will cause many of our unsuspecting people who listen and follow him unnnecessary loss of blood and life," Philbert X said.

Philbert X, a Black Muslim minister, talked yesterday about his brother at a press conference on Chicago's South Side.

DOESN'T MEAN IT

Philbert X indicated he did not believe that Malcolm X, whom he last saw in November before the assassination of President Kennedy, really meantn to shoot it out with his enemies.

Malcolm X announced recently he was organizing Negro militia groups to carry guns and shoot back if shot at.

Philbert X said he feared that many people "by their ignorance" would be encouraged to violence by Malcolm's statements.

"I am aware of the great mental illness . . . which besetted my mother whom I love and one of my other brothers, and which may now have taken my brother Malcolm," Philbert X said.

He said he introduced Malcolm to the Black Muslim movement.

"Malcolm was raised from a level of nothing to a place of honor and respect through the world as a result of Black Muslim leader Elijah Muhammad's direction," he said.

"An empty bag makes a lot of noise," Philbert X said.

CLIPPING FROM THE

NY Journal American

EDITION latest news

DATE 3-27-64

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Malcolm X Tactics Rapped by Brother

By LINN ALLEN

Chicago, March 27 (CDN)—A member of his own family bitterly condemns former Black Muslim leader Malcolm X as trying to lead Negroes into "violence, bloodshed and loss of life."

Philbert X, a minister of Muhammad's mosque of Islam in a four-city Michigan area and one of Malcolm's two elder brothers, delivered an unprecedented public attack at a press conference here yesterday.

He called Malcolm "cunning and clever" and said his "reckless efforts . . . will cause many of our unsuspecting people who listen and follow him unnecessary loss of blood and life."

Malcolm, who left the Black Muslims after a dispute with the movement's chief religious leader, Elijah Muhammad, recently announced he was forming his own organization.

At that time he stated:

"It is dangerous and criminal for Negro leaders to stress the nonviolent approach. Negroes must be taught how to defend themselves under attack. They must be taught how to use rifles and shotguns."

The split in the movement occurred after Malcolm was suspended by Muhammad for 90 days when he described President Kennedy's assassination as "chickens coming home to roost."

Philbert, who at 41 is two years older than his brother, said:

"Malcolm gained great prestige as the result of his association with the honorable Elijah Muhammad, and now he wants to use this prestige to lead the followers of Islam astray," Philbert claimed.

Philbert asserted his brother "would do anything" to achieve fame and to slander Muhammad out of a feeling of revenge.

"Malcolm has always prided himself on being a great user of people, especially women," the minister continued, "and now he seeks to prevail upon women who unfortunately were weak and went contrary to Islam."

He said that through women Malcolm would induce men to leave the movement and accuse influential Muslims of misconduct.

He told reporters:

"I beseech you to warn those who may be taken in by my brother's desire to promote his own selfish end."

Philbert, who said he spoke as a messenger of Elijah Muhammad, contended his brother's defection was not seriously harming the Muslim movement.

"It is growing all the time," he said. "This is a time of crisis for the so-called American Negro."

He reiterated the Black Muslim stand that Negroes ought to band together into a separate nation.

Philbert is Muslim minister for Lansing, Grand Rapids, Muskegon and Flint, Mich. He said he spoke prior to the conference with his elder brother, Wilfred X, who is minister at Muhammad's Temple No. 1 in Detroit.

CLIPPING FROM THE

NY N Y POST

EDITION Late City

DATE 3/27/64

PAGE 4

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JAN 9 1984

FBI—NEW YORK

[redacted]

Meeting at the Capitol in Washington, the Rev. Martin Luther King (l) of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and Malcolm X, Harlem's Muslim Mosque leader, shake hands after both predicted Negro demonstrations if filibuster delays civil rights bill.

Associated Press Wirephoto

3/25/64

AIRTEL

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (25-330971)

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-35635)

SUBJECT: NATION OF ISLAM
IS - NOI

b2,b7D [redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on 3/22/64 national leaders of the Nation of Islam discussed the fact that MALCOLM LITTLE was to appear on "At Random" Saturday night (3/22/64). They commented that it seemed as if MALCOLM would be in Chicago on that date and added that they would pass the information on to ELIJAH MUHAMMAD in Phoenix.

"At Random" is a local television panel-type show appearing on Channel 2, Chicago.

Chicago plans to tape the instant show if MALCOLM does appear. If MALCOLM's comments are unusual and have not been previously made public, they will be furnished to the Bureau in letterhead memorandum suitable for dissemination. If MALCOLM's comments are of the type that he has been making in recent days, the transcription will be forwarded routinely to the Bureau and New York.

2 - Bureau (RM)
2 - New York (105-7809) (Info) (RM)
(1 - 105-8999) (MALCOLM LITTLE)
(1 - 105-) (MUSLIM MOSQUE, INC.)
2 - Chicago
(1 - 100-41040) (MUSLIM MOSQUE, INC.)

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MAR 27 1964
FBI - NEW YORK

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Routing Slip
0-7 (Rev. 3-1) (Copies to Offices Checked)

TO: SAC,

☐ Albany	☐ Houston	☐ Norfolk	☐ Washington Field
☐ Albuquerque	☐ Indianapolis	☐ Oklahoma City	☐ Quantico
☐ Anchorage	☐ Jacksonville	☐ Omaha	
☑ Atlanta	☐ Kansas City	☐ Philadelphia	TO LEGAT:
☐ Baltimore	☐ Knoxville	☐ Phoenix	☐ Bern
☐ Birmingham	☐ Las Vegas	☐ Pittsburgh	☐ Bonn
☐ Boston	☐ Little Rock	☐ Portland	☐ London
☐ Buffalo	☑ Los Angeles	☐ Richmond	☐ Madrid
☐ Butte	☑ Louisville	☐ St. Louis	☐ Manila
☐ Charlotte	☐ Memphis	☐ Salt Lake City	☐ Mexico, D. F.
☐ Chicago	☐ Miami	☐ San Antonio	☐ Ottawa
☐ Cincinnati	☐ Milwaukee	☐ San Diego	☐ Paris
☐ Cleveland	☐ Minneapolis	☐ San Francisco	☐ Rome
☐ Dallas	☐ Mobile	☐ San Juan	☐ Rio de Janeiro
☐ Denver	☐ Newark	☐ Savannah	☐ Tokyo
☐ Detroit	☐ New Haven	☐ Seattle	
☐ El Paso	☐ New Orleans	☐ Springfield	
☐ Honolulu	☑ New York City	☐ Tampa	

Date March 23, 1964

RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
NEGRO QUESTION
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

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INTERNAL SECURITY - C

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☐ For information ☑ For appropriate action ☐ Surep. by

☐ The enclosed is for your information. If used in a future report, conceal all sources, ☐ paraphrase contents.

☐ Enclosed are corrected pages from report of [redacted] dated _____.

67C

Remarks: ReNYairtel 3-18-64 and LHM same date. Page 6 of the LHM has been rewritten at the Bu to change the characterization of Malcolm X. to read as follows: "On March 12, 1964, Malcolm X. Little publicly announced the formation of Muslim Mosque, Inc., the philosophy of which will be black nationalism."

ATTENTION: SAC, NEW YORK

Tentatively use above characterization for Malcolm X. until your office receives Bureau approval for characterization of Muslim Mosque, Inc.

Enc.
Bufile 100-3-116, 100-358916
NYfile NY files 100-151548, 100-91330
AT files 100-6520, 100-6078

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 1-24-84 BY [redacted] SCB/TCJ

Re: Malcolm K Little

Klan Plans a White Town —And Praises Malcolm X

Atlanta, March 23 (AP)—A new plan to escape integration is being considered by Ku Klux Klan leaders who spoke at a mass Klan rally attended by Black Muslims.

Robert Shelton of Tuscaloosa, Ala., Imperial Wizard of the United Klans of America, Inc., told the Associated Press in an interview last night that Klan is considering a pilot private Caucasian community.

"It's still in the planning stage," he said, "and it may be more than a year before anything is started. Architects are working on it now."

Earlier, at a rally in Atlanta, Calvin Craig, the grand dragon of the Georgia Klan, described black nationalist Malcolm X as the coming Negro Leader. He said that Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, "has gone as far as he can with the peaceful movement. The Negroes realize that even with peace, they are not going to get what they want."

Craig said the Klan was not looking for trouble but would use what he called jet-age resistance. "We'll fight if we're attacked," he said.

Shelton said the experimental project "porbably will be attempted on 45 or 50 acres of land with maybe a hundred homes. The facilities will be for the white Caucasian race."

The location has not bee determined, he said, but probably will be somewhere between Birmingham and Tuscaloosa, Ala.

"We want to create an economy for the white man, an organization where we can put our own money to our own use. We also want to provide recreation facilities, community houses, schools and churches in addition to housing," he said.

Both Klan leaders spoke to an estimated 1,000 persons at the rally in downtown Atlanta. Their targets were the civil rights bill, Mayor Ivan Allen Jr. of Atlanta, Police chief Herbert T. Jenkins and Atty. Gen. Robert F. Kennedy.

White persons predominated in the crowd. But Jeremiah X, leader of the Atlanta Black Muslim movement, and members of

CLIPPING FROM THE

N Y POST

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EDITION Late City

DATE MAR 23 1964

PAGE 3

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DATE 1-23-84 BY 8269 SP4 WEB/MCY

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FBI — NEW YORK

the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee also were present.

Said Craig, acknowledging the presence of Jeremiah X and an aide: "I have more respect for Jeremiah than I do for the Mayor of Atlanta. I'd rather have the two Negroes than two scalawags from the Mayor's office."

The only incident occured when a white youth who accompanied two Negroes was struck in the back by a robed Klansman.

About 200 Klansmen attended. At one point during the meeting a number of white persons surrounded several Negroes. Craig saw what was goin on and said:

"Leave those Negroes alone. Let them come in peace and hear what we have to say. . . If it burns their ears, let it."

FD-350 (4-3-62)

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Malcolm X Calling Negroes To 'Bullets or Ballots' Drive

Malcolm X, Negro nationalist leader, wants a mass meeting of Negroes to convene in New York between now and June to form a "black nationalist party or a black nationalist army."

Asserting that American Negroes are faced with a choice between "ballots or bullets," Malcolm rejected the philosophy of non-violence that has characterized the civil rights movement until now, saying:

"No more turning the other cheek . . . There will be nonviolence only with those who are not violent with us. . . . 1964 threatens to be an explosive year."

1000 Cheer Him

Speaking yesterday before 1000 cheering Negroes in the Rockland Palace, Eighth Ave. and W. 155th St., Malcolm said his goal was a million registered voters in a black nationalist party.

"Then," he said, "any Negro who joins the Democratic party would be a traitor."

Malcolm, who left the Black Muslim movement earlier this month, told the audience he was speaking as a Muslim minister, but was not seeking to convert Christian Negroes to his faith. He likened his position to that of the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. and the Rev. Milton A. Galamison, who "fight for human rights as Christian ministers."

Meanwhile, Mr. Galamison said yesterday there was a "50 to 50" chance that a third school boycott would be held between now and June.

Work Stoppage

Speaking on the WABC-TV program, Page One, the Brooklyn clergyman also said that plans for a work stoppage April 22, opening day of the World's Fair, were not definite.

Mr. Galamison, who lost the support of major civil rights groups in a second school boycott last week, said a meeting was scheduled for some time this week with representatives of those groups. The objective: To re-create a united civil rights front.

Though negotiations toward that end were in progress, he said, it was "hard to tell" if progress was being made.

On another front, both Mr. Galamison and Malcolm X came in for sharp criticism from Rep. Emanuel Celler (D., Bklyn.), a longtime supporter of civil rights. He characterized the two men as "extremists" who are "doing a great disservice" to the civil rights movement.

He said Malcolm was "encouraging violence" by predicting that 1964 would be an "explosive" year, and he called the school boycotts organized by Mr. Galamison's Citywide Committee for Integrated Schools "nihilism" and "obnoxious."

Celler spoke on the WNBC-TV Searchlight program.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

2 NEW YORK WORLD TELEGRAM AND THE SU

Date: 3/23/64
Edition: METRO
Author:
Editor: RICHARD D. PETE
Title: MALCOLM LITTLE

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Character: SM-NOI
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Classification:
Submitting Office: NYO

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FBI—NEW YORK

FBI-NYO (4-3-62)

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

1,000 IN HARLEM CHEER MALCOLM X

'Ballots or Bullets' Program Urged by Black Muslim

A thousand enthusiastic Negroes cheered Malcolm X last night when he exhorted them by declaring: "It's time for you and me to let the Government know it's ballots—or bullets."

It was the 38-year-old Black Muslim's first public rally since he broke off March 8 from Elijah Muhammad's Nation of Islam to organize Black Nationalists of any religion or creed. The meeting took place in the Rockland Palace, West 155th Street and Eighth Avenue.

His first effort, Malcolm X announced, would be a voter registration drive. Negro votes, he said, had "power to determine who will sit in the White House and who will sit in the doghouse." But down South, he asserted, "in order to start casting ballots, you have to have some bullets."

To win control politically and economically of their own communities, Malcolm X urged "22 million so-called Negroes" to join any Black Nationalist organization or any organization [illegible] that philosophy.

Party—or Army

By May or June, he said, the movement could hold a national convention here—"if they won't let us have Madison Square Garden, maybe we can have it in Times Square." Then, he went on, amid applause, "if it's necessary to form a Black Nationalist party—or a Black Nationalist army—we'll form it."

Another tactic he proposed was to "internationalize" the civil rights problem here to a human rights issue, which would allow it to be taken to the United Nations. In the world organization, he said, American Negroes would have friends in African nations and "800 million Chinese."

Introduced by Malcolm X as strong Black Nationalists were the Rev. Nelson C. Dukes, pastor of the Fountain Spring Baptist Church, 158 West 126th Street, and Jesse Gray, leader of current Harlem rent strikes. They were in the audience.

Despite his break with the Nation of Islam, Malcolm X several times took pains to say he had taken some of his ideas from Elijah Muhammad. "I was standing on the platform," he interjected at one point, "when I heard him say if 10 million of us die, there'll be 10 million of us left to enjoy freedom."

Promising regular Sunday night rallies, Malcolm X announced sessions March 29, April 5 and April 12 at the Audubon Ballroom, 166th Street and Broadway.

He said his new Muslim Mosque, Inc., would hold religious services at the Theresa Hotel, Seventh Avenue and 125th Street.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

18 NEW YORK TIMES

Date: 3/23/64
Edition: LATE CITY
Author:
Editor: TURNER CATLEDGE
Title: MALCOLM LITTLE

UNDER INVESTIGATION
Character: SM-NOI
or
Classification: BU
Submitting Office: NYO

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3-23-64

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Reference NY airtel to Bureau and Charlotte dated 3/18/64.

By referenced airtel the Bureau and the Charlotte office have been advised of the pertinent information being set out below. By means of this memorandum complete dissemination of this information is being made.

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Addendum
105-8999

[redacted] (C)

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Declassify on: OADR

105-8999-42 Oc

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FBI—NEW YORK

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

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☐ (b)(2)	☐ (b)(7)(B)	☐ (j)(2)
☐ (b)(3)	☐ (b)(7)(C)	☐ (k)(1)
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☐ (b)(4)	☐ (b)(8)	☐ (k)(5)
☐ (b)(5)	☐ (b)(9)	☐ (k)(6)
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NY 105-8999-4202 pages 2,3

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FBI/DOJ

Feud Within the Black Muslims

Malcolm X, leader in New York, has set up a rival 'Black Nationalist' political movement.

Elijah Muhammad, leader of the separatist Negro sect, faces a revolt in his ranks. His disciple.

GERTRUDE SAMUELS, a staff writer for The Times Magazine, has often written on aspects of the race problem, in New York and elsewhere.

By GERTRUDE SAMUELS

THE Nation of Islam—better known as the Black Muslim movement—is an Islamic sect, adapted by American Negroes for American Negroes, with a secret membership that could be anywhere from 50,000 to 250,000. What is preached in its temples, or mosques, is a doctrine of black supremacy (for black men are "divine"), hatred of the white man (for whites are "devils"), and complete separation of the races. The Muslims reject integration as completely as does Mississippi's Senator James Eastland. They believe that they have the answer to the masses of Negroes who live in economic despair and are groping for racial dignity.

Negro civil rights leaders who fight for integration are "Toms" and "white-man's niggers," according to the Muslims. The sect says it seeks a separate black nation in America—the nation of Islam—with its own army and flag, but it has never said how it proposes to achieve this secession nor from what part of the United States it proposes to carve its nation.

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Officially, the Black Muslims preach nonviolence and honor the law. Many outsiders, however, feel that there is the threat of violence implicit in the fanatical preaching of race hatred, in the rigid discipline maintained by members, and in the secret army—the black-clad Fruit of Islam—well-drilled units schooled in the use of firearms. But experts describe the movement's posture as one of "contained aggressiveness," largely because of the concepts of its charismatic leader, Elijah Muhammad.

ACCORDING to legend, the movement began when a "Prophet" appeared Detroit in the nineteen-thirties denouncing Christianity and the white man. Before "disappearing," he appointed Muhammad as his "Messenger" and endowed him with divine guidance. Muhammad, born Elijah Poole in 1897 at Sandersville, Ga., is the uneducated but dynamic son of a Baptist minister. The Muslims began to thrive under Muhammad about the time the civil rights movement spread in the fifties. Temples and commercial enterprises supported by Muslim money grew and flourished in various cities though headquarters were in Chicago where Muhammad sat. He and his sons—and notably his son-in-law, Raymond Sharrieff, Supreme Captain of the Fruit of Islam — were all-powerful authoritarians. Eschewing politics and the vote, keeping their strength secret, they welded a monolithic organization. They demanded and got blind and unswerving obedience to the spiritual leader, Elijah Muhammad.

In the past two weeks, that solidarity has been broken by a once-trusted lieutenant. The elements of open, racial violence and of action in the political arena are being projected by a rival movement, "Black Nationalism." The two principal antagonists are: Minister Malcolm X, New York leader of the Muslims; and the "Messenger of Allah," Muhammad.

MALCOLM X

CERTAINLY the sect's most adept strategist, uncompromising in his contention that Negroes will never get justice from white people, has been 38-year-old Malcolm X. Born Malcolm Little in Omaha, Nebr., he is an ex-convict who absorbed the Muslim religion while serving a seven-year sentence for larceny in Massachusetts.

Once out of prison, he shed his past life (along with his original surname, as well as an alias, "Big Red") and adopted the new last name X. This is common practice among Muslims, who adopt the symbolic X to connote the mystery of their origins.

Tall, dynamic, with rugged good looks, Malcolm rose in the sect to become the Big X—and the Messenger's ambassador to the Islamic countries of the Middle East and Africa. His flamboyant style, his biting humor and the brutal clarity of his logic—the white man is responsible for the degradation of the Negro—creates in white audiences a sense of collective guilt. At the same time, he wins admiration from Negroes, whose bitterness he can exploit.

The turnouts for Malcolm X at various Negro

and white colleges, including Harvard, make civil rights leaders unhappy. And in the past few months as he began to overshadow Muhammad and the Chicago-based officials, Muslim leaders also became unhappy. Muhammad moved to silence him. His opportunity was not long in coming.

When Malcolm X told a Black Muslim rally at Manhattan Center that the assassination of President Kennedy was an instance of "the chickens coming home to roost," Muhammad rebuked him, saying, "He will not be permitted to speak in public." That, under the code, seemed to end Malcolm's career.

But after 90 days of silence, he broke the code with a public announcement on March 8 that he was leaving the Muslims to organize his own party. He told a television audience. "It hard to make a rooster stop crowing once the sun has risen." He claims that he has only created a new mosque in New York, the Muslim Mosque, Inc. But he calls his philosophy—political, economic, social and cultural — "Black Nationalism."

OVER a glass of ginger ale the other day (he eats only one meal a day, and, like all Moslems, eschews smoking, drinking, gambling and the eating of pork), Malcolm talked of his ambitions. The three elements that distinguish his new party from the old group are: (1) personal independence that will allow him to act, speak and be seen as master of his own house; (2) "self defense units — rifle clubs — ready to "execute on the spot" those who threaten Negroes; (3) nationalist appeal to all Negroes, not just Muslims, allowing cooperation with the interracial civil rights movement.

This new program is anathema to Muhammad's Muslims. Yet Malcolm X insists that he is "and always will be" a Muslim and that, so far as he is concerned, Muhammad cannot reject him because no Muslim can be rejected by the spiritual head.

"But it is time for the Negroes to defend themselves," Malcolm said. "If no one will say that, I will. If a person threatens you, by coming in the churches, bombing the churches, killing little girls, shooting little boys, then the Negroes should defend themselves, even if it means taking rifles and shotguns, and driving from our door the people who are brutalizing Negroes. The Negroes should not wait for white investigators. They should find the guilty ones themselves and execute them on the spot.

"EVERY American citizen is guaranteed under the Constitution the right to bear arms in self-defense. Since he has the legal right to own a shotgun or rifle, I would advise the Negro to have one." Later, Malcolm told a press conference that Negroes "should form rifle clubs" to defend their lives and property.

"All the past actions of the demonstrations and the sit-ins and boycotts have been immature, boyish; that's why," he added contemptuously, "they call the Negroes 'boys.' " The time has come for Negroes to fight back, he said. He intends to tell the Negroes "that what has been called the Negro revolution in the United States is a deception practiced upon them, because they have only to examine the failure of this so-called revolution to produce any positive results in the past year. I shall tell them what a real revolution means."

In my conversation, I asked him: "Do you expect then to initiate a Cuban or an Algerian-style revolution?"

"I say that if you follow the whole thing to its logical conclusion, you have to expect the Negroes to rise up sooner or later."

He still appears adamant in his concept of a separate state and separation of the races though he is prepared to flirt with the interracial civil rights organizations.

His aim, now that he is on his own, Malcolm says, "is to work with civil rights groups, if they are willing to raise the caliber of their own black communities — and not force Negroes into white neighborhoods where they are not wanted. Separation — a separate state—is a good word, and it is something that you have to have to be independent and equal. At present, the black people are segregated. What we want is separation—independence."

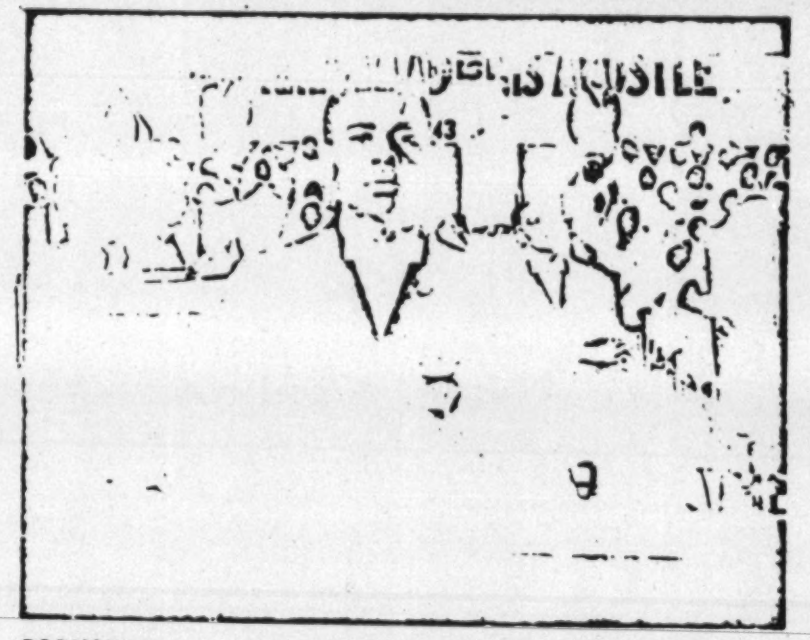
Where?

"No desert spot," he answered. "I hope it's Florida or California, and," he added with a short laugh, "all between."

Clearly Malcolm is not revealing the specifics of his program. He may fear that this would keep away the new blood — especially college-educated youth—he expects to recruit and exploit. ("We want to see some new faces . . . more militant faces.") He expects his party to enter politics and, by educating Negroes in the mechanics of politics and the vote, "to control the politicians of our community."

"There are three times as many Negroes as Jews in this country," he added, blandly, "yet when it comes to political power, the Jews have 90 times as much power as the Negroes."

"I feel," said Malcolm X, "everything else has failed. I feel that all the efforts on the part of Negro groups through 1963 have met with failure. The Negroes are angry. I should say they're angrier. And I'm the angriest."



BODYGUARD—A member of the Fruit of Islam, the Black Muslim shock troops, guards Malcolm X (left, in white tie) at a meeting.

ELIJAH MUHAMMAD

TODAY, at 67, the "Messenger" is a small, thin man in bad health (suffering from asthma and bronchitis), whose delicate appearance and winning smile belie the ferocity of his speeches. He is introduced to large Muslim audiences as "the man who has seen God!"

"Get away from the white

...man," he adjures the faithful, and they shout back fervently, "We will! Teach us, Messenger!"

There have been few smiles since Malcolm formed his new party. Indeed, Elijah Muhammad thundered like the wrath of Allah as he told me by telephone from his home in Chicago:

"Malcolm's plans have had no effect at all on the movement. My work is divine work, and the people believe in what I am teaching, of the resurrection from the death—the mental death—of my people. Anyone who deviates from Islam is a hypocrite."

WHEN he learned that Malcolm still spoke favorably of him and said he remained a Muslim, Muhammad said angrily: "If he spoke favorably, he has no alternative but to remain with me—if he believes in the Divine Message that Allah has given to me to deliver to my people. He would not go after other groups who have not accepted Islam.

"There is no weeping or moaning over anyone who leaves Islam, as such a man is a deviate or hypocrite, who does not want to live under the guidance of God's Messenger.

"Mere belief counts for nothing in Islam, unless carried into practice. He's preparing our people to find themselves and to fight—I heard him on television. It is very silly to say such a thing, because where are they going to get guns and arms?

"I am in favor of what I have been teaching for the past years, all over the country of America," Muhammad went on, "that we carry no arms, and we do not seek to win victory with arms. We follow what Allah has revealed—and that is, be our own selves, and do nothing to others that we would not have done unto us. That is a universal concept—because that is the best religion.

"I feel absolutely surprised at the man. He was under an indefinite suspension. He had represented himself publicly for several years as being a Muslim and a believer in the teachings and revelations of Allah that He has given to me. Now he has turned away to go after something that he himself has been criticizing—to the civil-righters' movement."

Then Muhammad added quietly, "This particular work of reforming the so-called Negro, so he can take his place in society, cannot be done by anyone who has not got with him divine guidance. It is absolutely divine work, guided divinely. Malcolm had that as long as he was with me." The old man underscored this heavily and, it seemed, sadly. "But otherwise he does not have it. I think religious scientists and scholars know that our people will have to be completely reformed—and Malcolm's way is not the way to reform them."

• • • •

THE reaction to Malcolm's new role by national civil-rights leaders ranges from skepticism to puzzlement and worry. Some claim indifference to the split in the Muslim movement. The Muslims, they say, were really repudiated by the Negro masses at the historic march on Washington last year, which dramatized how deeply the Negroes believe in and seek an integrated America. They have been on a decline ever since, and Malcolm's breakaway was a move of desperation, after his public rebuke, since he saw the handwriting on the wall.

Some in this group believe that Malcolm is a creature of the press, radio and television. As one spokesman put it, "They seem to get a masochistic kick out of Malcolm's giving them hell."

As for Malcolm's statements about "self-defense," they believe that he will be as unsuccessful in selling the masses of Negroes on rifle clubs and violent action as he was in selling them on a separate state.

Other Negro leaders are skeptical of a real split in the Muslims. They have known for some time that Malcolm and other young Muslim leaders were convinced that the Muslims were held back by their aloofness from the civil-rights movement. Now they are wondering whether Malcolm has suddenly become a dedicated man or "remains a charlatan." As one expert put it, "He may be a Trojan horse proceeding, under the guise and protection of Muhammad, but actually maneuvering to get into the civil-rights movement." These leaders are adopting a wait-and-see attitude. They neither condemn nor cheer the "new Malcolm," but will wait and study his program and his sponsors.

As Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the N.A.A.C.P. puts it: "We do not know whether he intends to help American Negro citizens in their civil rights campaign, or whether he really is serious in wooing them to some kind of a Black Nationalist separate state."

Certainly Malcolm's attempts to appeal to Christian as well as Muslim Negroes, and his attempt to make his temple all things to all black men trouble many objective outsiders. Some Chicago Muslims are in his corner. It is expected that other young Muslims in the New York and Washington temples will follow, as may the disgruntled from the N.A.A.C.P. and CORE (the Congress of Racial Equality), as well as from the unorganized masses.

IT is this last, unknown quantity—the masses of Negroes who do not belong to the civil-rights movement—that concerns many thoughtful observers.

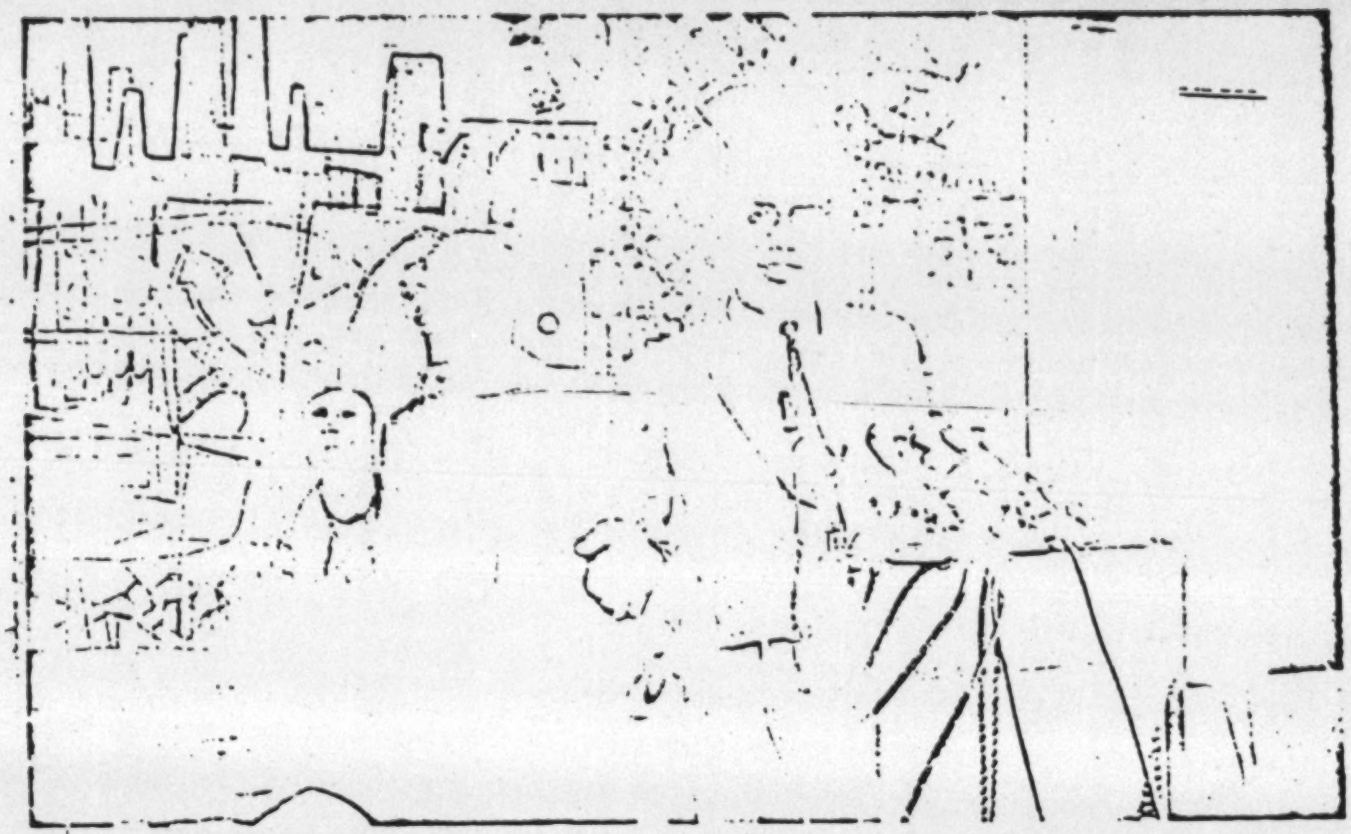
Prof. C. Eric Lincoln of Clark College, author of the definitive study of the Black Muslims, says:

"There is an increasing number of Negroes who feel that nonviolence has run its course, and they are disillusioned." Only the other day, on his college campus in Atlanta, eight Negro student leaders met with an advisory group of leading white Atlanta citizens. The student leaders told them that what used to be a student movement "now involves the total Negro community." And this, reflects Professor Lincoln, includes people who are not necessarily committed to the philosophy of nonviolence.

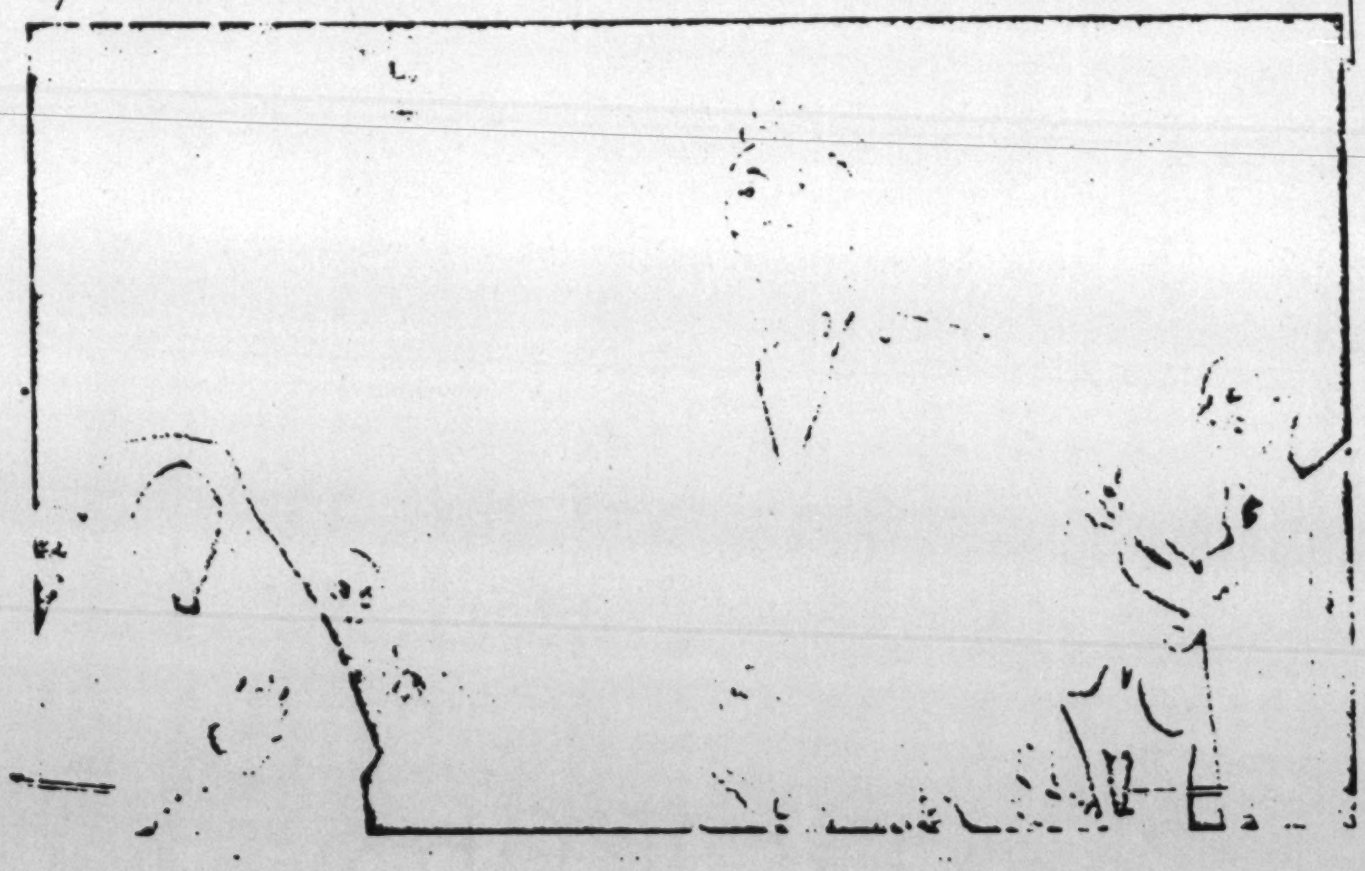
OF immense interest to observers, as Malcolm opens his drive for recruits to his political party, is its financing. He has said that he will accept money from any source, including white people who, however, can't join his group, "because when whites join an organization, they usually outjoin it." There is speculation whether Malcolm will be getting at least petty cash from his most picturesque recruit to the Black Muslims, the heavyweight champion of the world, Cassius X (Clay). The 22-year-old fighter whom a Negro reporter has dubbed the Clown Prince of the movement, is constantly in Malcolm's company and expects to live on Long Island to be near Malcolm's home.

Leaders of unquestioned stature in the civil-rights movement are concerned not so much with the personality of Malcolm X as with the conditions in a community that make it possible for *any* opportunist to exploit and capitalize them. Whitney Young, executive director of the National Urban League, observes: "As long as you have the poverty, the poor housing, the bitter conditions that nourish the despair, there will always be people around like Malcolm X or John X or any-X."

And Professor Lincoln concludes: "The fact that Malcolm X believes that a Black Nationalist party is possible or is needed is a reflection upon the distance we still have to go to make the Negro believe that the white man is sincerely interested in having the Negro participate equally in the common values of this society."



RIVALS—Malcolm X, above, tells a New York audience why he has broken with Elijah Muhammad (below, at a rally).



The Paradox That Is Malcolm X: All Charm and All Contradiction

By Dick Schaap
City Editor

The sign on the door says "Eve Nelson Cosmetics—Subsidiary of . . ." The phrase is not finished.

Inside, the green slatted blackboard is divided into long columns, each topped by the letters "CL," which stand for closing prices. There is not a single stock listed on the board.

The room, lon gand lean, is sparsely furnished—ragged green window shades, checked green-and-white linoleum flooring, two ancient wooden desks, a dozen rickety folding chairs and one strong permanent, non-folding chair.

Malcolm X sits in the non-folding chair.

Here, on the second floor of the Hotel Theresa at 125th St. and Seventh Ave., here where Joe Louis once lived and Fidel Castro once lived and Cassius Clay now lives, here in the temporary headquarters set up by Malcolm X since he split away from Elijah Muhammad's Nation of Islam, everything—from incomplete sign to unused stockboard—exudes an air of the unreal.

"Squeak—squeak—squeak" go the marking pencils, as two college girls, their hair swept into African styles, carefully letter the cardboard signs heralding Malcolm's speech on "Black Nationalism in Harlem," which he will deliver at 8 p. m. tonight at the Rockland Palace on 155th St. and Eighth Ave. Suddenly—"Squeeeaaak—squeeeaaak"—the long lines of the X written beneath Malcolm's name.

Down the hall, a man says, "Malcolm's office? Malcolm's in Room 228."

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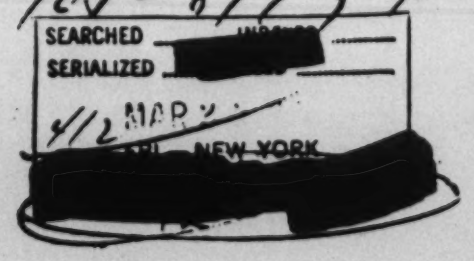

NO 228

There is no room marked 228. Only the process of elimination leads to the cosmetics sign. The sign spreads across two glass doors, both painted black, leaking no clue to what is inside.

It is all unreal, but Malcolm X himself is the most unreal aspect.

He is, above all else, utterly charming. It is almost impossible, upon meeting him, to dislike him. Friendly, articulate, calmly outgoing, his appearance and his manner melt all the harsh words, the words of violence and rifle clubs, that he has spoken in the past.

He sits in his non-folding chair, his long legs cramped under a wooden desk, and he greets his co-workers and his visitors with politeness and warmth. "Brother James, would you give our visitor a chair?"

He is impeccably dressed, a black suit covering a black cardigan sweater and a white shirt and a solid brown tie, his black shoes brightly polished, his black socks neatly pulled up. And his followers, too, dress carefully, projecting, more than anything else, a Madison Ave. image, almost a huckster image. Two of Malcolm's assistants leave their attaché cases lying around the room.

And then Malcolm is talking [illegible]

ing. And this is when, instead of charming visitors, he frustrates them. He wallows in contradictions and he ducks under straight questions, jabbing back with a speech, not with a straight answer.

Violence? Violence? Malcolm is not for violence, he says.

But didn't he suggest that Negroes carry rifles? He reaches into his billfold and plucks out a small card and quotes the Constitutional amendment guaranteeing citizens the right to bear arms.

"I operate only within the law," he says. "I do not advocate violence. I advocate only each man's Constitutional right to defend himself."

And in the next minute, chatting with a reporter freshly arrived from Europe, a reporter who has covered the violent revolutions of Africa and Southeast Asia, Malcolm is speaking longingly of guerrilla warfare, of sniping and violence in the streets.

Will there be guerrilla warfare among the Negroes in the United States?

"Of course," says Malcolm X. "There is already. You just don't see it."

Is he for it?

"I am not advocating violence."

DAVID

He slides into slick phrases to avoid taking any firm stands. He derides the civil-rights leaders who co-operate with whites and use methods developed by whites and then, when he is asked if he isn't doing the same thing, relying on speeches and college tours and endless statements to the white press, Malcolm smiles his charming smile and says, "Didn't David use Goliath's own sword to cut off the giant's head?"

Violence? He is totally opposed to that.

Then he is saying that no white man knows what the Negro thinks, that no Negro will tell a white man what he really thinks.

In other words, then, Malcolm himself does not say to the white people what he really thinks.

"I come closer than anyone else," he says.

Again, he hides behind words. "Only the servant sees the master," he says. "The master does not see the servant. The servant sees the master sleeping. The master never sees the servant sleeping. The servant sees the master eating. The master never sees the servant eating. The servant sees the master angry. The master never sees the servant angry. The master never really sees the servant at all."

He smiles, a mixture of friendliness and mocking. "You only see the tree," he says. "You do not see the roots. If the roots were exposed to the open, they would wither and die."

Is he hiding the true roots of his own philosophy?

Only a smile.

Malcolm talks on.

He is against segregation and against

Herald Tribune—UPI

". . . And the next minute, Malcolm is speaking longingly of guerrilla warfare, of sniping and violence in the streets."

integration. He is for separation—a matter of choice.

He thinks the Supreme Court decision outlawing "separate but equal" schools was a disastrous mistake.

He says that Ralph Bunche is not a Negro and that Carl Rowan, the head of the United States Information Agency, is not a Negro.

He condemns token integration and says that Negroes who say that they were the only Negroes in their schools are neurotic, "uppity" Negroes. And in the next breath, he tells you that he was the only Negro in his grade school in a small town in southern Michigan, and that his was the only Negro family in town.

It is impossible to take Malcolm X's words seriously—unless you are willing to accept, at various times, both sides of every question. Sooner or later, he works both sides.

He is the sort of man who would be wonderful at a cocktail party, if his Muslim beliefs would allow him to attend, because he never lets conversation lag. But he would be less effective when there is a need for action, because at the present time, his contradictions must breed confusion.

It is dangerous to dismiss Malcolm lightly He is too eloquent, too effective at stating a situation—even though he offers no practical way out of the situation—to be ignored. The trick, a difficult one, is to try to figure out Malcolm X. It is a game that almost every thinking person in Harlem is playing these days.

EVALUATION

If you sit and listen around the bars and grills in Harlem—in Frank's and the Palms on 125th St., in Jock's and Small's and the Shalimar on Seventh Ave., you can see the clergymen and the small politicians and the lawyers and the doctors trying to gauge Malcolm X.

No one knows the extent of his power—possibly because he has never put his power to any real test.

No politician will associate himself completely with Malcolm.

But none will completely disassociate himself, either.

They are waiting, waiting to see if Malcolm X, now that he has opened his ranks to people who do not follow the strict Muslim precepts, will draw large numbers of followers.

And they debate his manner and his methods.

"Malcolm X is a genius," a lawyer was saying in the back room at Jock's. "He is the most brilliant speaker I have ever heard."

"Malcolm X is a creation of the white press," said a doctor in Frank's.

"Malcolm X is a phony," said a man at the bar in the Shalimar. "All he cares about is Malcolm X—and money."

And Malcolm X sits back in his nonfolding chair on the second floor of the Hotel Theresa and smiles and watches a slow trickle of converts come through his door, matched by a trickle of white reporters trying to figure him out.

And it is amusing, and strange, to see that Malcolm X, the voice of Black Nationalism, seems to expend his greatest charm and the most time on the whites, not the Negroes, who walk through his paint-blackened doors.

Herald Tribune photo by IRA ROSENBERG

Malcolm X: "He is, above all also utterly charming."

Malcolm X Tells Of Death Threat

"I would have been murdered in February by Muslim Brothers whose minds had been skillfully poisoned by misinformation . . . "

These startling words came from Malcolm X, calling two of his former aides "chief hypocrites" and charging that a former Brother is using the local Muslim Mosque No. 7 to make New York members of the sect think he is insane. He issued a detailed statement this week explaining his reasons for leaving the movement headed by Elijah Muhammad.

The following is the fiery Malcolm X's complete statement:

"I never left the Muslim Movement on my own. Those who envied my increasing successes conspired together to force me out. After announcing to the Muslims at Mosque No. 7 that I would be back in 90 days if I submitted gracefully to my suspension, Captain Joseph teamed with the assistant minister Henry X to make it impossible for me to return.

"After I was suspended and silenced on December 3rd, they proceeded to isolate me to keep me from explaining the diabolical situation to the other Muslims. As soon as they felt I had been sufficiently isolated, Captain Joseph then used assistant minister Henry X to spread lies from the speaker's stand that were skillfully designed to make the Muslims think I had rebelled against the Honorable Elijah Muhammed

"When Joseph felt Henry's poison had turned sufficient number of Muslims against me, Joseph then sent some Brothers from his 'special squad' out to try and kill me in cold blood. Thanks be Allah, I learned of the plot from the very same Brothers he had sent out to murder me.

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Misinformation

"These Brothers had heard me represent and defend Mr. Muhammad for too long for them to swallow Joseph's lies without first asking me some questions for their own clarification. If truth wasn't stronger than falsehood, I would have been murdered in February by Muslim Brothers whose minds had been skillfully poisoned by misinformation spread by Joseph and Henry.

"Realizing they were poisoning the minds of the Muslims toward me in my forced absence, I requested a hearing before the general body at Mosque No. 7 so I could defend myself against these false charges. They refused to let my case come before the general body because they knew their charges were nothing but lies that I could easily disprove if allowed to defend myself in front of any group of intelligent Muslims.

"If they had truth on their side they could easily have brought me forth and proved their case, instead of insulting me and then accusing me to the people without giving me a chance to defend myself. These two hypocritically used their positions to deceive the Muslims into thinking that I had turned into a hypocrite.

Have Complained

"The New York Muslims had been complaining heavily against Captain Joseph for years. The rank and file Muslims never knew that a confidential directive had been handed down from Chicago after Mr. Muhammad had become ill in 1961, making it impossible for ministers to remove captains.

"Thus, from that onward captains could be removed only by the Chicago Office. Because of the increasing complaints against Joseph, I had made a "quiet" request to Chicago in early November for Joseph's removal as Captain. I also asked to wait until Mr. Muhammad came to New York in December, but on December 3rd it was I who was suspended, silenced, and eventually removed.

"Normally I would not make public any of the internal affairs of the Nation of Islam, but since Henry is still using the speaker's stand to make the Muslims in Mosque No. 7 think I'm insane, I am forced to speak out through the public media in order to claim my own position.

"There is much more that could be said, but it would prove too destructive to too many innocent people. Thus, whatever else I say on this subject will be only that which I'm forced to by my two former chief aides who have now turned into CHIEF HYPOCRITES."

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Malcom X off on Wrong Foot Says Adam Powell

WASHINGTON (NNPA)—Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D.-N.Y.) said the suggestion by former Black Muslim leader Malcolm X that Negroes arm themselves with guns and rifles has run afoul of the civil rights movement.

The Harlem Congressman labeled the scheme "totally and completely wrong.

Fresh from a trip to Madrid, Mr. Powell told reporters at New York's Kennedy International Airport that "the whole power of the black revolution is based upon non-violence."

He predicted failure for Malcom X's new black nationalist movement, which is dedicated to separation of the races, because the entire civil rights movement is toward desegregation, not separation.

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Negroes Want No Shooting War For Justice, Says U. L. Exec.

Whitney M. Young, Jr., executive director of the National Urban League, Saturday said the nation's Negroes have repudiated the position of Black Muslim Malcolm X who called on them to prepare for "active self-defense".

"America's Negroes want to achieve victory through the power of rights and justice. They have no illusions that they can win a shooting war or an economic war. Their greatest weapon is the justice of their cause," he told the College in an address this afternoon.

"America has to decide either to kill the Negro or to free him. There is no middle ground and the closer the Negro gets to freedom, the more impatient he becomes," Young said.

He stressed that Negroes are not seeking "status or social acceptance" but liberation from a catastrophic existence which can only be ended by support from the white community's "men of no will" who have yet to declare themselves to be "men of goodwill".

The Urban League director painted this picture of the plight of the country's Negroes:

• First, 25 per cent of the Negro labor force is unemployed. Although Department of Labor statistics reckon non-white unemployment to be about 15 per cent, they do not take into account "the discouraged workers" who, because of lifetime of rebuff, are not actively seeking jobs.

• Second, Negro family income, adversely affected by automation as well as discrimination, has dropped from 58 per cent that of white family income in 1952 to 52 per cent at the present time.

• Third, of 1,000,000 youngsters between 15 and 21 years of age out of school and out of work, some 500,000 are Negroes.

• Fourth, one out of six Negro families live in dilapidated or substandard dwelling units compared with one out of 32 white families.

• Fifth, the average Negro child receives three and one-half years less education than his white counterpart.

• Sixth, Negro life expectancy is seven years less than that of white citizens.

He said that 1963 was "The Year of Confrontation" in which every American was made to recognize the existence of the racial dilemma and predicted that 1964 would be "The Year of Decision" in which the nation will be obliged to act.

"The greatest stumbling blocks to constructive action and change

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

20 THE NEW CRUSADE
CHICAGO, ILLINC

Date: 3-21-64
Edition: WEEKLY
Author:
Editor: BALM L. LEAVELL
Title:

Character:
or
Classification:
Submitting Office: CHICAGO

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COPY SENT TO FBIHQ:

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MAR 3 1964
FBI - NEW YORK

are not the extremists like Malcolm X or the White Citizen Councils," Young said, "but the frivilous inertia of the gentle people of prejudice" who contend they support equal opportunities for Negroes as long as they do not move in next door.

"I am less concerned with the individual demagogue like Malcolm X who will exploit poverty and misery than the condition in which such men can flourish." Negro demagogues have learned their trade well from the southern demagogues, he continued, but they must be denied the opportunity to prevail through a constructive program to wipe out poverty.

FD-350 (4-3-62)

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Negroes Need Guns, Declares Malcolm X

NEW YORK — Malcolm X, the powerful former Muslim leader who broke relations with the sect to form his own "Black Nationalist Party," announced that he rejects non-violence as a tactic in the civil rights right.

"It is dangerous and criminal," Malcolm said, "for Negro leaders to stress the non-violent approach. Negroes must be taught how to defend themselves under attack, they must be taught how to use rifles and shotguns."

Malcolm X

In connection with his previous statements, wherein he advocated the establishment of national rifle and shotgun societies for Negroes, Malcolm said it is legal to set up rifle clubs in this country, and in most states it is legal to carry shotguns.

Malcolm predicted that 1964 will be the bloodiest year in the civil rights revolution.

"The Negro is justified to take any steps at all to achieve his equality," he said in a press conference. "I shall tell them (Negroes interested in joining his new organization) what a real revolution means."

The former Muslim minister, who says he will call himself "Brother Malcolm," defined what he meant by a "real revolution" by referring to the French, American, and recent Algerian revolution. "There can be no revolution without bloodshed," he said.

"Brother Malcolm" stated that he will soon set headquarters for his political party in a Harlem Hotel.

Elijah Muhammad himself ordered the former Muslim minister not to make public appearances because Malcolm allegedly mocked the assassination of President John F. Kennedy, when he declared that the late president's death was merely "chickens coming home to roost."

However, Malcolm told the press that he decided to resign from the Chicago-based sect in order "to save the national leaders the disgrace of having to explain their real reason for forcing me out."

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

20 CHICAGO DEFENDER
—CHICAGO ILLINOIS

Date: 3/16/64
Edition: DAILY
Author:
Editor: JOHN SENGSTACK
Title:

Character:
or
Classification:
Submitting Office: CHICAGO

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3-20-64
To New York

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DATE 12-24-82 BY 12.69 mdw/sbs/tky

100-8328-494

Malcolm X Backs Today's School Boycott

By JOHN MALLON

Insisting that his movement's boycott today of the city's public schools "cannot fail," the Rev. Milton A. Galamison yesterday was offered the support of a new alliance —a group consisting of Rep. Adam Clayton Powell, Harlem rent strike leader Jesse Gray and "black nationalist" Malcolm X.

The long-established civil rights groups—the NAACP, CORE and the Urban League—had declined to support this second boycott. They had backed the Galamison group's first one on Feb. 3.

Galamison, Powell and comedian Dick Gregory will march in the ... of a boycott brigade which will demonstrate in front of Board of Education headquarters this afternoon.

Gray at Rally

Asked if he would accept the support of Malcolm X, who has urged American Negroes to arm themselves for civil rights battles, Galamison said:

"I ven't talked personally with Malcolm X. We operate on a philosophy of nonviolence If he wants to support us under these rules, he can."

Gray, at a late-afternoon rally in Harlem, told this newspaper of the new alliance backing Galamison. Gray said of the defection of other Negro leaders:

"He may have been abandoned by the leaders, but not by the rank and file.

"We will support him. We're here to express support for Galamison. Malcolm X is a part of the new alliance, and we welcome him.

Malcolm at Rally

"We are expressing the need for action. Others will join us."

Malcolm X, arriving late at the rally in the Milbank Community Center, 32 W. 118th St., said:

"I'm not an integrationist. But I will work with anyone to improve the plight of the Negroes. If the only way we can bring about attention to the injustices of the world is through boycotts, then we must boycott."

A spokesmen for the long-established civil rights organizations which have shunned Galamison's continuing boycott program told THE NEWS yesterday

CLIPPING FROM THE

NY Mirror

EDITION Final

DATE 3-16-64

PAGE 3

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100-8999-4493

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FBI — NEW YORK

that the boycott chief's influence started to wane when Galamison went to Chicago to confer with leaders of last month's boycott there.

Out on Limb, He Says

The older rights groups backed out, the spokesman said, to preserve their identity and independence. He said their leaders expect Galamison to "fall flat on his face" in the boycott today. "He's out on a limb," the spokesman declared, "and the limb is being cut off."

Bayard Rustin, Galamisons "pilot" who ran the first boycott will not participate in today's demonstration.

To Meet at Church

After picketing schools in the morning, groups of demonstrators will meet at Galamison's Siloam Presbyterian Church, 260 Jefferson Ave., Brooklyn, at 1 P. M.

They will then march the 3½ miles to the school board headquarters at 110 Livingston St., Brooklyn, arriving at 1:45. Other groups will gather at City Hall at 1 P.M. and then march across the Brooklyn Bridge to the school board headquarters.

The Rev. Milton Galamison
Finds new support

...-353 (4-3-62)

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

...ghts Leader... ...rticize Malcolm X

Civil rights leaders today denounced the call to arms issued by Malcolm X, the Black Muslim maverick who bolted the Negro's segregationist sect to form his own black-nationalist party.

Predicting more racial violence than ever before in 1964, ex-convict Malcolm X yesterday urged Negroes to arm themselves with rifles and shotguns in order to "fight back in self-defense."

"I can't believe he is serious," said James Farmer, national director of the Congress of Racial Equality. He said that to unleash such violence could be "ultimately suicidal."

"Of course predictions of violence sometimes become self-fulfilling prophecies," said Farmer. "But X needs to explain what he means by self-defense. He says people have a right to shoot at dogs set to attack them. Behind every dog is a policeman. Does he mean using guns against the police?"

Opens Campaign

"If he does," Farmer continued, "he is asking for race war which can only end in anguish for the nation. It is utterly foolish. In a race war we simply would not have a chance of victory."

Malcolm formally opened his campaign to organize a politically oriented black-nationalist movement. "There will be more violence than ever this year," he said at a news conference here.

One white man, Robert Long, Chicago Urban League president, called Malcolm's remarks "horrible" and classed them as "extreme provocation."

The national office of the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People announced that "as of the moment there is no official comment" on Malcolm's remarks.

'Doesn't Know Negro'

But the Rev. Wilbur N. Daniel, president of the Chicago branch of NAACP, commented: "I think his position is completely off. I think he doesn't know what he's talking about. I don't think he knows the Negro at all."

The Rev. Joseph H. Jackson, president of the 5-million-member National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., the nation's largest Negro organization, said, "It is my belief that our civil rights struggle is an American struggle and can only be won through the American way of life and through commitment to the federal constitution.

"Violence will defeat our cause and destroy the freedom we already have and can never bring to us or to our nation the full freedom we all desire."

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

8 NEW YORK WORLD TELEGRAM AND THE SU

Date: 3/13/64
Edition: METRO
Author:
Editor: RICHARD D. PETER
Title: MALCOLM LITTLE

Character: SM-NOI
or
Classification:
Submitting Office: NYO

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Negroes Won't Start Violence, Black Muslim Leader Predicts

Associated Press

PHOENIX, Ariz., March 10 —The leader of the Black Muslims predicts the Negro will not turn to violence in the quest for equal rights.

Elijah Muhammad made the observation in his home yesterday after learning that his former top aide, Malcolm X, was breaking away from the orgnization. Malcolm said his action was an effort to convert the 22 million non-Muslim Negroes in the United States "from non-violence to active self-defense against white supremacists in all parts of the country."

The 65-year-old Muhammad spoke quietly of the defection, his eyes sometimes watering.

"My people are more adapted to peace," he said. "They believe in peaceful solutions."

He said Malcolm is too smart to start any violence, adding that, "He has no guns, no ammunition."

Malcolm had been a Muslim for nine years.

"We are surprised," Muhammad said, "I never dreamed this man would deviate from the nation of Islam. Every one of the Muslims admired him. But what he has said makes it definite. He has deviated."

Muhammad said he felt the announcement by Malcolm would have little or no effect on the civil rights bill pending in Congress or on the attitudes of the nation's Negroes.

Muhammad, the leader of an estimated 975,000 Negroes, said his movement would continue its peaceful approach in an attempt to follow the revelations which came to me from Allah."

He said Muslims believe in separation of race only "if America will not give us equal justice."

He added, however: "I see no signs of equal justice."

CLIPPING FROM THE

NY World Telegram

EDITION Metro

DATE 2-10-64

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Clay, on 2-Hour Tour of U.N., Tells of Plans to Visit Mecca

By STEVE CADY

Cassius Clay told African and Asian delegates to the United Nations yesterday that he "couldn't wait" to visit to their countries.

"I'm champion of the whole world," he said during a two-hour tour of the U.N., "and I want to meet the people I am champion of."

He said he would begin the trip as soon as arrangements were completed, probably in about a month, and that he might include some exhibition bouts on the agenda.

Clay, who had disclosed his membership in the Black Muslims after taking the world heavyweight boxing title from Sonny Liston last month, said he had been deluged by invitations from Moslem countries. He said one of the places he wanted to visit was Mecca.

Army Status Not Known

In a tape recording with an Asian correspondent, the 22-year-old boxer from Louisville, Ky., declared that he had beaten Liston "because I had faith in Allah."

Asked to comment on a report that he had flunked his predraft Army psychological tests, Clay replied with a chuckle, "Do they think I'm crazy?" He said he had not heard from the Army and did not know what his draft situation was.

According to a story published yesterday by The Louisville Courier-Journal, Clay failed by a slight margin to pass the psychological tests, which he had taken Jan. 24 in Coral Gables, Fla. The Defense Department said only that the tests were being forwarded to Washington for "processing."

Clay, who had visited the U.N. in 1960 after winning the Olympic light-heavyweight title, made yesterday's tour at the invitation of two members of the U.N. press corps — Mal Goode of the American Broadcasting Company and Charles Howard of the Howard News Syndicate.

Because the U.N. would not allow a formal news conference to be held, Clay answered questions in an impromptu session in Howard's office.

More subdued than usual, the champion did almost as much listening as talking. One of his lighter comments came when he told why he had decided to "live forever" in New York.

"I'm so popular I need a big town so all the people who want to watch me can do it," he said. "New York's the only place big enough for me."

Clay will remain at the Hotel Theresa in Harlem for another week or so before returning to Louisville. In the meantime, he plans to look for a home in the metropolitan area here.

Among those accompanying the champion were his brother, Rudolph; Archie Robinson, his personal secretary, and Malcolm X, the New York spokesman for the Black Muslims.

Clay said he objected to the term "Black Muslims" as applied to American Negro devotees of Islam. He said the word "black" had been bestowed by whites as the most offensive word they could find.

"Angel food cake is white, devil food cake is black," Cassius declared.

Decision Laid to Clay

Asked if he had influenced the champion's decision to move to New York, Malcolm X said, "He's got a mind of his own."

Asked if he thought Cassius would do any formal preaching, he said, "You don't preach our philosophy, you live it."

Throughout the 1 P.M.-to-3 P.M. tour, which included a late "lunch" of orange juice and coffee at the delegates' north lounge, Malcolm X did most of the talking on racial issues.

Among the delegates and officials with whom Clay shook hands were Sori Coulibaly, Mme. Jeanne Rousseau and Aw Mammadou, all from Mali, and Christie W. Doe of Liberia. Coulibaly is chairman of the U. N. special committee on colonialism.

Guests at the luncheon party included Sheikh Wadda of Gambia and Matutu Julien of the Congo, who described themselves as friends of Malcolm X.

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N Y TIMES
NY
EDITION Late City
MAR 5 1964
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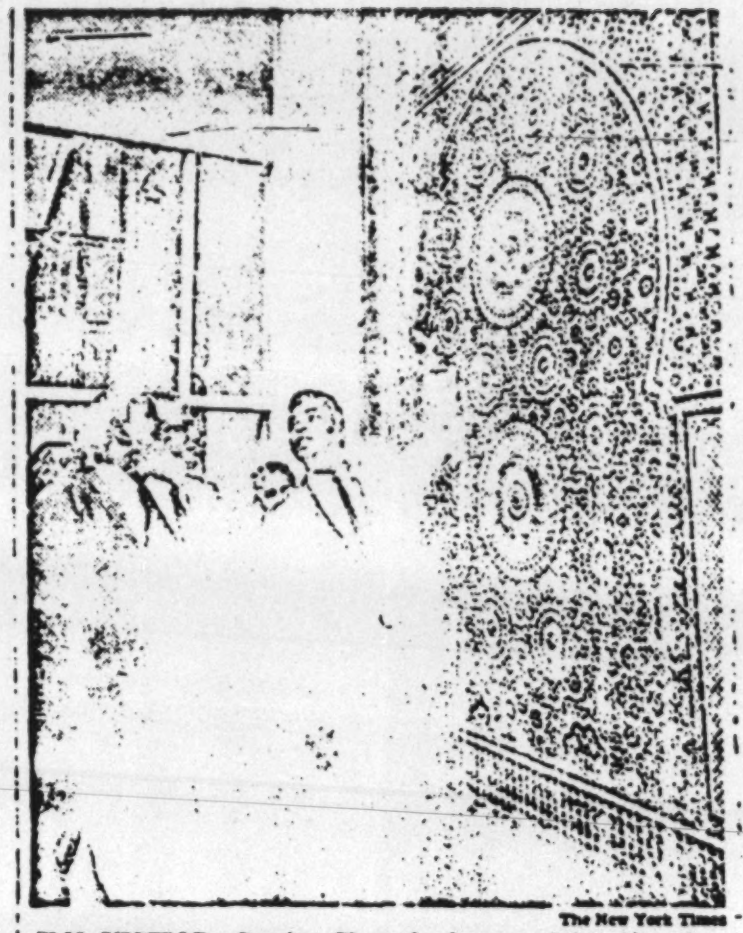

The New York Times

U.N. VISITOR: Cassius Clay, the heavyweight champion, inquires about a mosaic, a gift of Morocco, during tour of the United Nations. In his party are Rudolph, left, his brother, and Malcolm X, center, Black Muslims spokesman.

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3/23/64

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TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-152759) (P)

SUBJECT: MUSLIM MOSQUE, INC.
IS-MISCELLANEOUS
(OO:NY)

Re NY teletype 3/23/64, and NY airtel and LHM dated 3/19/64.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are five copies of a LHM relative to an MMI rally held in NYC on the evening of 3/22/64, at which MALCOLM LITTLE spoke.

The three sources utilized in the LHM are:

b7C
b7D
b2

First Source: [redacted]

Second Source: [redacted] (Used to characterize JESSE GRAY)

Third Source: [redacted] (Used to characterize JESSE GRAY)

b7C
b7D

[redacted]

Coverage of MMI continuing.

1-24-84
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Declassify on: OADR

b2
b7C

3-Bureau (Encls. 5) (RM)
1-New York [redacted] (JESSE GRAY) (421)
1-New York (105-8999) (MALCOLM LITTLE) (412)
1-New York

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DATE 1-24-84 BY 8269 ME/WEB

1-Supervisor [redacted]

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FBI - NEW YORK

CONFIDENTIAL

New York, New York
March 23, 1964

CONFIDENTIAL

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Muslim Mosque, Incorporated
Internal Security-Miscellaneous

A confidential source who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on March 23, 1964, that the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI) held an open rally from 8:00 p.m. to 10:10 p.m. in Rockland Palace, 8th Avenue and 155th Street, New York City. Attendance at the rally was approximately 1000, and the speaker was Malcolm X Little, the founder and leader of the MMI who had broken with the Nation of Islam (NOI) on March 8, 1964.

A characterization of the NOI is attached and all sources therein have furnished reliable information in the past.

Malcolm X spoke on "Ballots or Bullets", and urged the audience to win political and economic control of their communities through a black nationalist organization. According to the source Malcolm X concentrated on the need of Negroes for a politically oriented black nationalist movement, and he urged Negroes not to align themselves with the Republican or Democratic parties. Malcolm X suggested that the black nationalist movement could hold a national convention in New York City by May or June and stated "if they won't let us have Madison Square Garden, maybe we can have it in Times Square."

1-24-84 Classified by 8269 SEC/OEB
Declassify on: OADR

5-Bureau
1-New York (100-91911)
(JESSE GRAY) (421)
1-New York (105-8999)
(MALCOLM LITTLE)(412)
1-New York (100-152759)

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1-Supervisor #412

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Muslim Mosque, Incorporated

The source advised that in speaking of the ownership of firearms, Malcolm X stated that it was absolutely legal and he read the Constitutional Amendment that guarantees the citizens right to have firearms. He stated that they could be used for self defence and to protect your property.

The March 23, 1964, edition of "The New York Times", a daily newspaper published in New York, New York, contained an article on page 18 concerning the above MMI Rally. The article reflected that Malcolm X announced that his first effort would be a Negroes voter registration drive since Negro votes have the power to decide who will occupy the White House. He stated that "its' time for you and me to let the Government know its ballots-or bullets." He added that down South "in order to start casting ballots, you have to have some bullets." He urged Negroes to join any black nationalist organization or any group practising that philosophy. He stated "if its necessary to form a Black Nationalist party-or a Black Nationalist army-we'll form it."

According to the article Malcolm X also proposed to "internationalize" the civil rights problem in the United States to the human rights issue in the United Nations. Then, he said, American Negroes would have friends in the African nations and in "800 million Chinese."

The article also stated that Malcolm X introduced as strong black nationalists, Jesse Gray, Harlem rent strike leader, and Reverend Nelson C. Dukes, pastor of the Fountain Spring Baptist Church, 158 West 126th Street, New York City, bo of whom were in the audience.

[Jesse Gray

A second confidential source who has furnished reli information in the past, advised on November 20, 19 that Jesse Gray had been the organizer for the Harl Region of the Communist Party, United States of America (CP,USA), but this position terminated dur November, 1958.

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Muslim Mosque, Incorporated

A third confidential source who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on January 24, 1964, that according to William Patterson, Chairman of the New York District Communist Party, Jesse Gray is no longer a Communist Party member but is friendly to the Communist Party (X)u.

The above mentioned newspaper article also stated that Malcolm X promised regular Sunday night rallies, and announced rallies for March 29th, April 5th and April 12th at the Audubon Ballroom, Broadway and 166th Street, New York City.

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